

ADOLF HITLER

The Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich

OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

CESARE SANTORO

Hitler Germany

as seen by a Foreigner

with thirteen Diagrams and a Supplement.
"The New Germany in Pictures"

I take leave of my German People in the hope hat that to which I aspired in 1919 and which by a slow development led up to January 30, 1933. may ripen in order that the historic mission of our People may be integrally accomplished."
Paul von Hindenburg



II. Edition

Translated from the Third German Edition

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2. Field Marshal and Minister-President Hermann Goring, Air Minister.
3. Rudolf Hess, the Fuhrer's Deputy.
4. Reich Minister Baron von Neurath, Head of the Secret Cabinet.
5. Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.
6. Minister of Propaganda Dr. Josef Goebbels.
7. Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick.
8. Minister of Economics Walther Funk.
9. Minister Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichsbank.
10. Minister of Agriculture R. Walther Darré, Reich Leader of Farmers.
11. Minister of Finance Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk.
12. Minister of Communications Dr. Julius Dorpmüller.
13. Minister of Labour Franz Seldte.
14. Minister Dr. Heinrich Lammers, Head of the Reich Chancellery.
15. Minister of Education Bernhard Rust.
16. Minister of Justice Dr. Franz Gürtner.
17. Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Hans Kerrl
18. Minister Dr. Hans Frank, Head of the German Law Academy.
19. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs Wilhelm Ohnesorge.
20. Colonel-General Keitel, Chief of the High Command of the Fighting Services.
21. Dr. Robert Ley, Leader of the National Labour Front.
22. Colonel-General von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.
23. General-Admiral Dr. Raeder, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy.
24. Minister Dr. Otto L. E. Meissner, Head of the Chancellery.
25. Secretary of State Konstantin Hierl, Head of the Labour Service.
26. Secretary of State Dr. Dietrich, Reich Chief of the Press.
27. Secretary of State Hanke, Propaganda Ministry.
28. Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg.
29. Viktor Lutze, Chief of Staff of the SA.
30. Heinrich Himmler, Head of the SS. and Head of the German Police.
31. Adolf Hühnlein, Head of the National Motor Corps.
32. Secretary of State E. W. Bohle, Head of the Foreign Organisation.
33. Ernst von Weizsacker, Secretary of State in the Foreign Office.
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Foreword to the Third Edition

The success achieved by the first two editions of my book "Four Years of Hitler Germany" has encouraged me to bring out a third edition. In consideration of the fact that, in the meantime, events of great historical significance have occurred in the New Germany, I have deemed it necessary to extend the general scope of my work to include a period of upwards of five years. I have dealt with the visit of the Führer to Italy and, above all, with the re-incorporation of Austria into the German Reich. Consequently, I have had to change the title of my book.

In point of fact, it has now become impossible to give a complete picture of Hitler Germany without dealing with the Führer's native country, which through a favourable and unforeseen turn of events has been re-united with the Motherland whose size and wealth have been thereby considerably augmented. It has also had the effect of fundamentally altering the political and strategic situation of the German Reich with regard to South Eastern Europe.

I have devoted a special chapter to this latter subject, whilst the other chapters have been supplemented and brought up to date by new information and data. A number of new pictures dealing with these recent events have been added to the illustrated appendix.

In this way, I hope to have now offered the reader a work which faithfully reflects the present situation and will thus enable him to obtain a clear conception of what is happening in the Third Reich.

Berlin, October, 1938

The Author

Foreword to the First Edition

In chronological order, the National Socialist revolution in Germany in 1933 was the fourth of a series of upheavals which have transformed, and continue to transform, the destinies of modern Europe. Not less than its predecessors—the French revolution of 1789, the Russian revolution of 1917, the Fascist revolution in Italy in 1922—the National Socialist revolution constitutes a social, moral, and political event of decisive and farreaching importance. The moral import and the genius for organisation of National Socialism have not only resulted in a complete transformation of the outlook of the individual German and in a startling change of the international position of the German Reich; they are also a capital factor in the shaping of international relations, in the evolution of which they mark a fundamental change of direction.

During the twelve years which preceded its advent to power, the National Socialist Party offered the world a spectacle which could not fail to attract universal attention, alike by reason of the extraordinary diversity of its activities, of the novelty of its aims, and of the fervour of its adherents. Yet the curiosity which the National Socialist movement comprehensibly excited was not devoid of a feeling of apprehension as to its possible future developments. The work accomplished by the National Socialist regime during the first four years of its existence has fully justified the curiosity thus aroused, whilst it has at the same time allayed the fears entertained. A new chapter of history has been opened. This is a fact which it would be impossible to deny, from whatever point of view it may be considered.

Immediately after his appointment as Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, in his first appeal to the German nation dated February 1, 1933, asked

to be allowed four years time in order to accomplish the task of National reconstruction which he had set himself. He reiterated the same request a few days later in a speech in the Sportpalast in Berlin, when he said: "During fourteen years the German nation has been at the mercy of decadent elements which have abused its confidence. During fourteen years those elements have done nothing but destroy, disintegrate, and dissolve. Hence it is neither temerity nor presumption if, appearing before the nation to-day, I ask: German Nation, give us four years time, after which you can arraign us before your tribunal and can judge me! Allow me four years, and I swear to you, as truly as I have now undertaken my duties, I will depart. It is not for any reward or benefit that I have taken office, but only for your sake. It has been the gravest decision in my whole life . . .

I cannot rid myself of my faith in my people, nor lose the conviction that this people will resuscitate again one day. I cannot be severed from the love of a people that I know to be my own. And I nourish the conviction that the hour will come when millions of men who now curse us will take their stand behind us to welcome the New Reich, our common creation born of a painful and laborious struggle and an arduous triumph—a Reich which is the symbol of greatness, honour, strength, honesty, and justice!"

It is not an exaggeration to say that the task accomplished in Germany within the space of four years represents a social and political transformation which in normal times would have taken much longer to achieve. All Hitler's promises have been punctually fulfilled, for when the National Socialist Party took power it was already ripe for the task it had voluntarily assigned itself while in opposition.

Four years are but a brief episode in the life of a nation whose history dates back a thousand years and more. Yet this short span has sufficed for the National Socialist Government to create an entirely new political system, entirely new social and economic organisations, entirely new juridical and administrative organs. It has also sufficed to liberate Germany from the fetters imposed on her at Versailles, to reestablish her military force and her parity of rights among the nations. Successive Republican Governments had during fourteen

years endeavoured without the slightest success to realise the same aims.

What is the secret of this marvellous result? Does it not reside in the confidence placed by the masses of the German nation in the man whom they regard as a providential saviour?

A revolutionary development of this sort manifestly demands time and very serious decisions in order to mature. Just consider the difficulties to be overcome: innumerable traditions and institutions to be replaced by new beliefs and new creations, innumerable personal conditions to be readjusted, innumerable criticisms to be withstood, innumerable discontents to be faced, especially on the part of those elements of the population whose scepticism is difficult to dispel. In the long run, however, all these obstacles were surmounted, and at the general election of March 29, 1936, the number of voters who declared themselves in favour of the Government was 44,412,000 out of a total electorate of 44,955,000. Even such formerly convinced adversaries of National Socialism as the ex-Minister of the Interior Severing and the ex-President of the Reichstag Loebe were compelled by the simple logic of facts to admit the efficiency of the new regime. Their example was followed, although for very different reasons, by General Ludendorff.

The effect produced abroad by this result was all the greater, firstly, owing to insufficient knowledge of the real condition of affairs in Germany when the National Socialist Party took office in 1933, and of the activity displayed by the National Socialist Government during the first four years of its existence; secondly, owing to the campaign of hatred waged by its innumerable adversaries against the Third Reich.

In this connection, however, a remarkable change has been recently observed. Thanks mainly to visits paid by foreigners to the new Germany, a number of prejudices have been destroyed. But this must not be taken as implying that prejudices have ceased to exist. On the contrary. The campaign of hatred and defamation continues. Such a state of affairs, by perpetually rekindling suspicion, misunderstanding, and disquietude, adversely affects international relations and is consequently detrimental to the cause of European peace.

The object of this book is to contribute to a better understanding of the new Germany created by Hitler. Hence the author has carefully abstained from putting forward any subjective opinion and has contented himself with exclusively enumerating certain demonstrated facts and figures. The reader will himself draw the natural and logical conclusions.

In a brochure published by me at Geneva four years ago under the title "The National Awakening of Germany, as seen by a Foreigner" I endeavoured, on the basis of my own observations, and after a prolonged stay in Germany as foreign Press correspondent, to shed light on the origin, the fundamental principles, and the programme of the movement created by Adolf Hitler. The present work is but the continuation of that brochure. It is destined to resume the results of the first Four-Years Plan elaborated by Hitler and to expose the real aim of the second Four-Years Plan, the object of which is to render Germany economically independent of foreign countries.

The present international situation, which is so complicated and uncertain and full of perils, imposes on every journalist who is conscious of his mission the duty of devoting his whole strength to the work of mutual enlightenment, of removing as far as possible all cause of friction based on misunderstanding between nations. It is his duty to encourage mutual comprehension founded on the notion of a real international community.

In so doing I believe myself to be in full agreement with those of my colleagues who, having spent long years in Germany, have had the opportunity of observing the degree of moral and material abasement to which the German nation was condemned during the years following the War, and also the titanic efforts made by that nation to recover and create for itself a new existence. All of us shared the faith of patriotic Germans, each of us shared their hopes and the joyful confidence which, little by little, inspired them.

When living amidst a great nation fighting for its very existence, it would be inadmissible for the impartial observer to retreat into an obscure corner and to refuse to admit the reconstructive value of that nation's efforts to retain equality of rights with other civilised nations.

It would be folly to remain blind to that nation's good will to live at peace with the world and to contribute to its general well-being.

The greatness of the events of which we have been the immediate witnesses has not prevented us from seeing clear, has in nowise influenced our efforts to search for the truth, and the objectivity of our judgment concerning the results obtained. True, mistakes—and especially tactical ones—have been committed. In certain countries the result has been a markedly hostile reaction to the deeds and theories of the new Germany. Such mistakes, however, are inevitable in a revolution of so wide a scope, which has its own methods and which seeks new ways and means for fundamentally transforming the entire political, economic, and cultural existence of the German nation.

This book contains a summary of my studies in the course of the first four years of the Third Reich. I submit them to the reader at the moment when the Paris World Exhibition furnished the Third Reich with the opportunity of showing the whole world the results of its regained activity.

Berlin, December 1937

Cesare Santoro

FIRST PART

What the German nation has ardently desired for centuries is henceforth a reality: one single, fraternally united people, liberated from the mutual prejudices and hindrances of past times.

Adolf Hitler

I.

Heritage and Programme

When Field Marshal von Hindenburg in his capacity as President of the Reich invited, on January 30, 1933, the leader of the National Socialist Party to assume the responsibility of taking power, the condition of the German nation was one of deep despair.

The streets of German towns were full of millions of unemployed waiting for the dole which was scarcely sufficient to provide for the most indispensable needs of daily life. There were few families in which father and sons, or all of them, were not jobless. Statistics offer us a painful picture of this tragic state of affairs. The number of unemployed totalled more than six millions, or over one-fourth of the 21 million workers available under normal conditions in Germany. To this number, however, must be added three millions who were only partially employed. Hence, including the members of their families, some twenty million citizens representing about one-third of the total population of Germany were victims of the plague of unemployment and of all the multifold miseries engendered by that plague. In order to alleviate these miseries the German Federal States and the German municipalities spent an enormous sum exceeding three milliard marks; but the assistance forthcoming was entirely insufficient, and humiliating into the bargain. The situation of handicraftsmen was not less deplorable. Germany was thus menaced by the rapid destruction of that power of labour which throughout the centuries has invariably constituted her most precious asset.

In rural districts, the farmer had lost the love for his own soil, since he was perpetually haunted by the nightmare of a forced sale. A large number of German peasants were no longer free proprietors of their holdings. Crushed under the weight of debts totalling some milliards of marks, they often faced the prospect of seeing their farms seized for the benefit of creditors or of the inland revenue authorities. Thousands of German farmers had been driven from the soil, which had meanwhile passed into the hands of new proprietors entirely incapable of drawing any legitimate profit from it. Thousands of others were reduced to a position devoid of any material stability. Peasants were deluded by the offer of prices which were allegedly to be quoted on the Bourse; but it

Communists and Socialists together occupied 40% of the total number of seats in the Reichstag Would it be wrong to consider that National Socialism, by conquering power just at the right moment, prevented the "bolshevisation" of Germany?

So far as cultural life in Germany was concerned, it may be recalled that almost all the means by which the intellectual activity of a nation finds expression—such as the theatre, the cinema, the music world, the Press, the publishing houses—were in the hands of Jews, i e of a race whose tendencies and aims are wholly at variance with National Socialist ideals 23 out of 29 Berlin theatres, or 80%, were under Jewish management, and a large number of the plays staged were written by Jewish authors Jewish influence was not less evident in the cinema, this powerful modern instrument of propaganda among the masses in 1931 no fewer than 70% of stage-managers and musical composers in the film world were of Jewish extraction Similarly, numerous influential and widely circulated organs of the daily and periodical Press were financially controlled, managed, and edited by Jews This was especially the case in Berlin and Frankfurt

The worst, however, at the beginning of 1933, was the well nigh total loss of regard for national traditions, the loss of faith in the national destinies of Germany, the absence of confidence in her future This state of moral prostration affected the youth of the country in a special degree An older generation, which had fought in the War, had found on its return home an unhealthy antipatriotic atmosphere, whilst a younger generation was being born and bred in this unnatural environment

These observations were common to everyone who lived in Germany during the years preceding Hitler's advent to power The lack of such an important educational factor as compulsory military service, on the one hand, and the plague of unemployment, on the other, produced their inevitable consequences in the shape of a deplorable moral relaxation and in a not less deplorable decrease of patriotism Foreign observers conceived grave doubts as to the future of the German nation, despite the proofs of courage, discipline, and force of resistance given by that nation during the World War and which had their source in the universally esteemed, characteristic qualities of the Germanic race

This affirmation will not appear surprising, when we remember that the young generation had developed into manhood at an epoch in which, for instance, a lecturer on philosophy at the Technical Academy in Hanover was allowed, not only to grossly insult Field Marshal von Hindenburg, himself a Doctor "honoris causa" of the said Academy, but also to boast in unseemly manner of having had recourse to all sorts of trickery in order to avoid serving his country in the trenches And at the same time a Professor of Heidelberg University, addressing a meeting of pacifists, even ventured to go so far as to speak of "those who fell on the field of dishonour".

Such, briefly sketched, was the veritable aspect of the German Republic created at Weimar That Republic would fain have paraded as a great Power

possessed of equal rights with all other Powers. But behind this deceptive mask was the undeniable reality of the dire distress of a population of 67 million souls.

The other Powers were content to treat the German Republic as a second-rate State condemned to play the part of Cinderella, notably at Geneva. Since Germany was incapable of supporting her claims by any display of military force, she had necessarily to confine herself to the rôle of a perpetual applicant whose requests were invariably rejected by her strongly armed adversaries, whose judgments in questions submitted to them savoured of arbitrariness rather than of impartiality.

It is not necessary to go back to 1923 and the occupation of the Ruhr, when Germany was not yet a member of the League of Nations. At his traditional reception on New Year's Day, 1931, President von Hindenburg expressed the hope that the coming year would not be marked, for the German nation, by further cruel and painful disillusions. The Minister of Defence, General Groener, representing the absent Chancellor Dr. Brüning, stated in his reply that the principle of equality of rights between nations was still far from being assured, and that the obligation to disarm, solemnly guaranteed by other Powers, was still a long way from being accomplished. Hence, according to General Groener, the German Government reserved its right to insist energetically that the fundamental principle of "equal security for all", without which no real pacification would be possible, should be applied. Hereupon the Minister of War of a foreign Power hastened to declare that the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were not susceptible of any modification, and proceeded to energetically insist on the necessity of distinguishing between victors and vanquished. This happened four years after Locarno.

Some months later, when a German proposal for a Customs Union between the Reich and Austria was made known—a proposal founded on the thesis enunciated by Briand of the admissibility of individual conventions between States—the Western Powers declared such a plan incompatible with existing treaties and a danger for peace.

On July 13, 1931, the Darmstadter and National Bank, one of the leading German banks, was obliged to suspend its payments owing to a sudden "run" which effectively drained its available resources. Other German banks were threatened with a similar fate. The German Ambassador in Paris unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a loan for his country. Similar efforts of the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Luther, in Paris, London, and Bâle, likewise failed. Nothing better resulted from visits paid by Chancellor Brüning and the German Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Curtius to Paris and London.

But the most characteristic example of the contemptuous, and occasionally hostile, attitude of foreign Governments towards the Reich, was furnished in 1932 at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva when the question arose of recognising Germany's equality of rights in view of the requirements of her security. Thanks to the influence of Great Britain this recognition was finally

admitted at the end of the same year, but with such restrictions as to render it valueless for practical purposes

Total confusion, general misery, internal disorders, lack of all prestige abroad —this was the balance sheet of post-War Germany Hitler was therefore quite right when, in his appeal to the German people on February 1, 1933, he stated: "We are assuming a terrible heritage".

The Government's Programme

What programme did the National Socialist Government formulate on taking power?

To this question Hitler replied in his speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1937, when he said

"When, four years ago to-day, the venerable President of the Reich called me and confided to me the task of forming and directing a new German Government, we had just passed through a period of severe struggle for the conquest of power, a struggle which we had carried on by strictly legal means Of this struggle the National Socialist Party was the soul Already before being formally proclaimed, the new State had for a long time past derived its ethical and political ideals from that party *All the fundamental ideas and principles on which the new Reich is based had long since been those of the National Socialist Party*"

The fundamental ideas and principles mentioned by Hitler had been enunciated in 25 articles on the occasion of one of the first important meetings of the Party in Munich, as far back as February 25, 1920 (In this connection we would refer the reader to pp 64—68 of our brochure "The National Reawakening of Germany as seen by a Foreigner")

When the National Socialist Party came into power it was necessary to incorporate these 25 articles in a Government programme This Hitler did after the Reichstag elections on March 5, 1933 At these elections the parties represented in the Government of National Recovery—namely, the National Socialists, the German Nationals and their auxiliaries, and the Wurttembergian Winegrowers—had together obtained some 20,500,000 votes (as compared with about 15,000,000 at the previous elections) and had gained 341 *out of a total of 647 seats in the* Reichstag, which enabled the parties in question to secure an absolute majority

On the occasion of the opening of the new Reichstag on March 21, 1933, a solemn ceremony took place in the Garrison Church in Potsdam in the presence of President von Hindenburg, Chancellor Hitler, Hermann Göring (President of the Reichstag), the various deputies, and high officials of the State and the National Socialist Party President von Hindenburg in welcoming the assembly insisted on the difficult and manifold tasks incumbent on the new Government, and reminded his hearers that the place where the present assembly was gathered evoked memories of ancient Prussia "which had become great in the fear of God, by her fidelity to duty, by her never failing courage, by her constant patriotism, and which on these foundations had succeeded in uniting all the

German peoples." After which Chancellor Hitler proceeded to deliver the speech opening the session of the Reichstag. The Chancellor said:

"For many years past our nation has been oppressed by grave cares. After a period of proud recovery, of great prosperity in all spheres, poverty and distress have again become our lot, as was so often the case in the past. Despite industry and the will to work, despite their energy and their learning and the best of intentions, millions of Germans are in vain endeavouring to-day to earn their daily bread. Our economic activity is languishing, our finances are disorganised, millions of our people are without work. The outside world knows only the deceptive external aspect of our towns, but does not perceive the misery behind it."

Hitler went on to observe that for the past two thousand years the German nation had known constantly changing destinies. The cause had been invariably the same, namely, disunion and division. Even after the political unification realised by Bismarck, this heterogeneity of conceptions had continued within the German community and had produced its devastating effects until that very day.

"The revolution of November, 1918"—the Chancellor continued—"marked the end of a struggle into which the German nation had entered in the unshakable conviction that it was only defending its freedom, hence its right to live. For neither the Kaiser nor the German Government nor the German nation had desired war. The catastrophe was followed by a general collapse in all domains. Politically, morally, culturally, economically, our nation sank ever deeper and deeper ...

The absurd theory according to which the victors must eternally remain victors and the vanquished eternally remain vanquished engendered the insanity of reparations and as a consequence the catastrophe of world economy."

Hitler then recalled that the rebirth of the German people began under exceedingly unfortunate auspices. Nevertheless, confidence in their own national strength should enable the Germans to form a new community. President von Hindenburg had had the rare and magnanimous courage to confide, on January 30, 1933, the leadership of the Reich to the "Young Germany", and the majority of the German nation had confirmed this decision on March 5. On behalf of the new Government Hitler expressed his unshakable determination "to undertake the great work of reorganising the German people and the German Reich and to carry this task to a successful conclusion".

The Chancellor then defined as follows the principles underlying the task of reform which he had set himself:

"We wish to restore the unity of spirit and will of the German nation.

We wish to preserve our ethnical personality, with all its inherent energies and values, as the eternal foundation of our life.

We wish to subject again the organisation and leadership of our State to those principles which have at all times been a preliminary condition of the greatness of peoples and empires.

We wish to respectfully and reverently develop the great traditions of our nation, which are at the basis of its history and its culture, as the perennial sources of its real strength, and consequently of its possible renascence in difficult times

For incessant fluctuations we wish to substitute the firm resolution of a Government capable of restoring unquestioned authority to the German nation

In carrying out this policy we shall take into consideration all the experiences made in the course of centuries, the usefulness of which for humanity has been demonstrated

We wish to restore the primacy of a policy destined to organise and direct our nation's struggle for life

We wish to take account of all the living forces of our people in so far as they are the primordial factors on which the future of the German nation depends We intend making a sincere effort to unite all men of good will, and at the same time to render innocuous all those who desire to harm the German nation

From the various sources supplied by the German peoples, estates, professions, and classes we wish to form a true and living community capable of assuring between the different vital interests of the nation that just equilibrium which is indispensable to the future development of the entire German people

A German nation of peasants, bourgeois, and workers must resuscitate That nation will then for all times remain the faithful guardian of our traditions and our culture, of our honour and our liberty

Recalling to mind the sacrifices of the War, we wish to prove to the world that we are sincere friends of a peace destined to heal the wounds from which all nations are still bleeding

The Government of National Recovery is determined to fulfil the task which it has assumed in the interest of the German nation "

At the conclusion of his speech the Chancellor, by an eloquent gesture, invited all those present to rise from their seats in honour of the Field Marshal, as the living incorporation of the virtues of fidelity to duty, sincerity, and discipline When Hitler resumed his seat the Field Marshal shook his hand with visible emotion

The Third Reich had been founded (See picture 1)

Such were the broad lines of the policy of the Government of National Recovery as proclaimed at Potsdam This policy was clear and precise, and it has inspired the work of transforming and reorganising the German nation

Hitler none the less considered it necessary to give further explanations concerning the numerous problems of home and foreign policy confronting Germany This he did two days later, on March 23, 1933, when introducing in the Reichstag the bill "for the suppression of the misery of the people and the Reich" (the so called Enabling Law)

The essential passages of the Chancellor's exposition were as follows —

Suppression of Marxism. The programme of the reconstruction of the German nation is all the more difficult of fulfilment owing to the depth of political, moral, and economic distress which we have reached ... The systematic decomposition of the nation resulting from the erroneous theories of Marxism which have created irreconcilable ideological antagonisms, is destructive of the basis of all possible collective existence. This work of dissolution menaces all the foundations of our social order.

Emanating as it does from the Liberalism of the last century, this destructive process cannot, by virtue of a natural law, terminate otherwise than in the chaos of Communism. The mobilisation of the most primitive instincts of mankind, inseparably bound up with Communism, results in an inadmissible liaison between political theories and criminal acts ... Methods of terrorism, whether individual or collective, cost the National Socialist Party within a few years upwards of 300 killed and tens of thousands of injured.

The unsuccessful attempt to burn down the Reichstag affords but an inadequate idea of what would have happened to Europe in the event of the triumph of this diabolical doctrine of destruction ... Thanks to its lightning-like action the Government prevented a development susceptible of shaking Europe to its foundations. Many of those, inside Germany and outside her frontiers, who out of hatred for the national movement of rehabilitation and reconstruction proclaim their solidarity with the aims of Communism, would have been themselves the victims of such a development.

The National Government will regard it as its supreme duty to extirpate this plague in our own country, not only in the interest of Germany, but also in that of the rest of Europe.

A True National Community. Only the construction of a true national community, superior to the interests and antagonisms of castes and classes, is capable in the long run of depriving this aberration of the human mind of the elements from which it derives its sustenance. The realisation of a powerful unity of ideas within the German social organism is moreover all the more important since that unity can alone furnish the possibility of maintaining friendly relations with foreign Powers, whatever may be the political tendencies and principles of those Powers. The elimination of Communism in Germany is a matter which concerns Germany alone. True, the outside world may be interested in it in so far as the outbreak of a Communist revolution in such a densely populated country as Germany would lead, especially in Western Europe, to consequences of which it is impossible to measure the extent.

Unity in the Leadership of the Nation. The internal disruption of the German social community has inevitably resulted in an ever more alarming diminution of the authority of the State. This diminution, on the other hand, has generated, in certain parties and countries, conceptions incompatible with German unity. However much we may respect the traditional claims of the various German Federal States, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the excessive splitting-up of Germany into autonomous States in the past has often been detrimental to the position of Germany in the world and to her own internal evolution ...

This Enabling Law does not aim at suppressing the German States. But it will permit measures to be taken which for all times will guarantee *uniformity of policy in Reich and States.*

A more extensive reform of the Reich could only be a consequence of its organic evolution. The object of any such reform must be to draw up a constitution in which the will of the people is harmoniously combined with the authority of a real governing power.

Elimination of Oppositional Elements. The Government of the National Revolution, conformably with the confidence expressed in it by the electorate, considers it to be its fundamental duty *to prevent any influence being exerted on the shaping of the national existence by those elements which, consciously and intentionally, repudiate such a collective German life* Theoretical equality before the law must not be allowed to degenerate into tolerance of those who, on principle, despise both law and equality, since this could only result, in the long run, in surrendering to them the liberty of the nation on the pretext of some democratic doctrine But the Government will grant equality before the law to all those who are prepared to defend the national interests and to support the Government

It goes without saying that it will be the duty of the Government to call to account the spiritual leaders of this destructive movement and thus to save the victims seduced by them

The Question of a Monarchical Restoration. In all the measures taken by it, the National Government is solely inspired by the idea of preserving the German nation, and especially the masses of its working population, from dire distress and misery For this reason the Government regards the question of a monarchical restoration as undiscussable at the present time The Government would consider any efforts made by any individual German States to solve this problem for themselves as an attack on the unity of the Reich and would shape its attitude accordingly

Culture. Simultaneously with this political disinfecting of our public life, the National Government will proceed to a complete moral cleansing of our social organism For this purpose the Government will regard all educational institutions in the widest sense of the term—the theatre, the film, literature, the Press, the radio—as means for attaining this end All these must contribute to the maintenance of the eternal values incorporated in our ethnical personality Art must be the constant expression and the mirror of the aspirations and of the reality of an epoch The world of bourgeois passiveness is rapidly disappearing On the other hand the heroic ideal is becoming more and more the ideal destined to shape the destinies of nations, and it is the task of Art to become the expression of this characteristic spirit of our times

Blood and *Race* will again become the source of artistic intuition It will be the duty of the Government of the National Recovery to see that, precisely at a time when the scope of political power is restricted, the vital internal value and the self assertive will of the nation shall find a correspondingly energetic cultural expression

Religion. The National Government regards the two Christian confessions as *the most important factors for the maintenance of our ethnical personality* It will carry out the agreements concluded between them and the German States, and their rights shall be fully respected But at the same time the Government hopes and expects that the task of national and moral reconstruction which it has set itself will be duly appreciated The Government will adopt a just and objective attitude towards all other religions But the Government will never admit that the *fact of belonging to any given religion or race can dispense an individual from fulfilling the general obligations imposed on him by law or can constitute a charter of impunity for committing certain crimes* The only aim of the Government is to guarantee a sincere collaboration between Church and State The struggle undertaken by the Government against materialism and the effort to create a really national community serve at the same time the interests of the German nation and those of the Christian religion

Law. The primary object of our legal organisation is to serve to maintain the existence of the national community The legal status of judges, which excludes their removal from office, must correspond to an elasticity of jurisprudence with the object of protecting the existence of society Not the individual, but the whole nation, must be the principal concern of the law Crimes of treason must, in future, be punished with the utmost severity The only possible basis of law can be the existence of the nation

Economy. A heavy task awaits the National Government in the domain of economic life One single principle must determine all its acts namely, that the nation is not made for economy, that economy is not made for capital, but that *capital serves economy, and economy serves the nation* On principle, the Government will abstain from the creation of an economic bureaucracy organised by the State and will energetically assist all individual initiatives, whilst respecting private property But a reasonable equilibrium must be established between productive intention, on the one hand, and productive labour, on the other, and the duty will be incumbent on the State of respecting the results achieved alike by intellectual and manual labour In other words, the State must itself practise thrift

Finances. The inevitable reform of our fiscal system must aim at simplifying taxation and the methods of tax collection, consequently at reducing expenses The tax mill must be placed on principle in midstream and not at the source The general simplification of our administration must go hand in hand with a decrease of public expenditure

The Government will on principle avoid any *currency experiments*

Food Supply and Agriculture. Two economic problems of capital importance predominate It is above all things necessary *to save the German peasant*, for the destruction of that social class could but produce the most dangerous consequences imaginable The restoration of the profitableness of agricultural holdings may possibly be painful for the consumer, but the fate which would befall the whole nation in the event of the shipwreck of the German peasantry would be incomparably more tragic than any passing hardships The question of protecting the peasant against forced sales and of alleviating his burden of debt cannot be solved otherwise than in connection with the restoration of the profitableness of agriculture Unless we succeed in making agriculture a profitable industry, the destruction of the peasant class is inevitable and would equally inevitably result in the collapse not only of German economy, but of the whole German organism Agricultural prosperity is the primordial condition of industrial prosperity and development, of Germany's home trade and of her trade with foreign countries Hence the greatest importance must be attached in future to the settlement of people on the land

The Suppression of Unemployment. The National Government is, moreover, perfectly aware of the fact that the only definite remedy for the unsatisfactory condition alike of our rural and urban economy, can be found in *the reincorporation of the host of unemployed in the normal process of production* This is the second greatest economic task confronting the Government The problem can be solved only in connection with the general political appeasement, with the re establishment of the authority of a regime capable of applying economic principles which are sound because they are natural—capable also of adopting necessary measures even if they are unpopular under existing circumstances The creation of work and the compulsory labour service form, in this respect, only a small part of a general programme

The attitude of the National Government towards the middle classes is a corollary of its attitude towards the peasants The middle classes, no more than the peasants, *can be saved from destruction* otherwise than by a general economic action The National Government is determined to bring about a fundamental and radical solution of these problems In doing so it recognises the historic duty incumbent on it to assist the millions of German workers in the struggle waged by them for their right to existence Alike as Chancellor and as National Socialist I feel myself bound to them as to the former companions of my youth

Foreign Trade. We know that the geographical situation of a country like Germany, which lacks raw materials, does not permit us to adopt a regime of complete autarchy We must never cease to insist on the fact that *nothing is further from the intentions of the German Government than hostility in foreign trade* We know that we need to entertain relations with the world, and we know that the work destined to enable German goods to be sold in all corners of the globe feeds millions of our compatriots

But we know also the indispensable conditions of a normal exchange of commodities between nations For many years Germany was forced to export goods without receiving anything in exchange The result to day is that the task of ensuring Germany's continued participation in international trade raises a problem of financial rather than of commercial policy So long as we shall not have been granted a really practical method of settlement of our foreign debts, a method adapted to our capacity to pay, we shall unfortunately be compelled to maintain our regime of currency regulations

For the same reason the German Government is obliged to prevent the exportation of capital to foreign countries The maintenance of the value of the reichsmark is one of its most important duties

Transport and Communications The development of transport entails the necessity of realising a reasonable equilibrium between the various means of communication A first step in this direction will already be made at the beginning of next month by the reform of the tax on motor cars The preservation of the German Railways and their return—which we desire as rapid as possible—to the Reich is not only an economic, but also a moral duty The German Government will ardently encourage the development of air traffic as a means of peaceful communication between the nations

National Defence. The National Government sincerely desires to be able to abstain from increasing the German Army and German armaments, *in so far as the other Powers are disposed to also fulfil their obligation to disarm* Germany does not aspire to anything more than to equality of rights and freedom In any case, the National Government will seek to bring up the German nation in the spirit of this will to liberty The honour of the nation, the honour of our Army, the ideal of liberty, must again become sacred for the German people

Germany desires Peace The German people wish to live at peace with the world But precisely for this reason the Government is determined to do what it can to bring about the definite disappearance of the *division of nations into two categories* The conception of "victors" and "vanquished" cannot form the basis of friendly relations between nations To keep this wound open engenders distrust in the "victors" and hatred in the "vanquished", and creates in consequence a general feeling of insecurity

The National Government is ready, in the interest of a sincere understanding, to stretch out its hand to all those who desire to close, once and for all, this sad chapter of past history The world crisis can only be brought to an end on condition that confidence be re-established, not only within the various nations themselves, but also in their mutual relations

Disarmament. We are unfortunately faced by the fact that, despite prolonged negotiations, the Geneva Conference has so far failed to reach any practical result. A decision concerning any real measures of disarmament has been constantly delayed owing to technical questions of detail being raised and because problems which have nothing to do with disarmament have been incessantly introduced into the debate. *The situation, contrary to all notions of Right, created by unilateral disarmament, and the resulting condition of national insecurity for Germany, cannot be indefinitely prolonged...* The German Government will support every effort tending to effectively contribute to general disarmament and to thus satisfy Germany's demand for parity of rights.

The Four-Power Pact. The plan proposed by the Head of the Italian Government, who, generously and farsightedly, is endeavouring to ensure the peaceful and logical development of European policy viewed as a whole, is inspired by broader conceptions. We attribute the greatest importance to this plan. On its basis we are prepared to sincerely collaborate with the effort which aims at uniting England, France, Italy, and Germany in the research of a peaceful political co-operation which will allow them to courageously and resolutely tackle the problems on the solution of which the destiny of Europe depends.

Relations with Italy. We take this opportunity of welcoming with particular gratitude the cordial understanding shown in Italy for the national reawakening in Germany. We hope and desire that the similarity of ideals will serve to increasingly consolidate the friendly relations between the two countries.

Relations with the Vatican. The German Government, which regards Christianity as the unshakable foundation of the ethical life of the German nation, attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance and development of friendly relations with the Holy See.

Relations with Austria. As regards the sister nation in Austria, we most sincerely share its cares and tribulations. The German Government, in all its acts, will be inspired by the clear conviction of the *solidarity uniting all branches of the German family.*

Relations with other Nations. What I have previously said suffices to explain the nature of our relations with foreign Powers. Even in those cases where the establishment of mutually satisfactory relations still encounters difficulties, we will sincerely endeavour to find a basis for agreement. But in any case we will never admit, as foundation for an understanding, the maintenance of a distinction between vanquished and victors.

As regards our relations with France, we are convinced that an agreement is possible provided the two Governments tackle the problems concerning them in a really broad-minded spirit.

As regards the Soviet Union, the German Government wishes to entertain friendly relations, profitable to both parties, with it. The German Government considers, precisely because it is itself born of a national revolution, that it is capable of pursuing a positive policy towards Soviet Russia. The struggle against Communism in Germany is an internal affair which concerns us alone and in which we shall never tolerate any foreign intervention.

Our relations with other Powers with whom we are united by common interests will not be affected thereby.

Our relations with other countries will demand our most serious attention—especially our relations with those great oversea States with which Germany has long been united by ties of friendship and by important economic interests

The Germans abroad. The fate of those Germans who live outside the frontiers of the Reich, and who by reason of their existence as specific ethnical groups in the midst of foreign nations are struggling to preserve their language, their culture, their customs, and their religion, can never fail to interest us With all the means at our disposal we shall always intervene to defend the rights guaranteed to German minorities by international conventions

The Proposed World Economic Conference. We welcome the plan of an international economic conference and we trust that it will meet soon The German Government is prepared to co operate in order to finally reach some definite result

Germany's External Debt A most important question is that of our private debts, whether short term or long term, abroad The complete modification of the relation between the respective values of goods demands a readjustment of private debts conformably with this modification in the interests alike of creditors and debtors

International Co-operation Only by a co operation based on confidence can the cares which now oppress the world be effectively removed Ten years of real peace will contribute more to the prosperity of all nations than an obstinate adhesion during thirty years to the theory of victors and vanquished

By 441 votes to 94 the Reichstag passed the bill partially modifying the Constitution The minority consisted exclusively of Social Democrats, but even if the Communist deputies had been present the requisite majority of two-thirds would have been easily obtained The bill in question authorised the Government to take all measures which it might deem necessary, even though they should be contrary to the Constitution, provided such measures should not entail the abolition of the Reichstag or the Council of Empire ("Reichsrat") The rights of the President of the Reich remained unimpaired The new law was to be automatically abrogated in the event of the existing Government being superseded by another, and, in any case, on April 1, 1937, at the latest

The Hitler Cabinet was thus legally granted the time which it had solicited for the carrying out of the *first Four-Year Plan* destined to achieve a new organi sation of the German Reich and the German nation

II.

Order, Unity, and Reorganisation at Home

Internal conditions in Germany at the end of January, 1933, such as we have briefly described them, render it comprehensible that the problems which most urgently demanded a solution at the hands of the new Government were those connected with home policy.

Hence it was natural that Hitler should have confided this formidable task to one of his most devoted collaborators, Dr. Wilhelm Frick, who was among the earliest apostles of National Socialism and who had taken part in the famous and abortive uprising in Munich on November 9, 1923, as a result of which he was also sentenced to a term of imprisonment. An official by profession, Dr. Frick was not only one of the first representatives of the National Socialist Party in the Reichstag, but was also the first adherent of Hitler to become a Minister in the days preceding the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. As such he attracted general attention by his firm and resolute attitude in his capacity as Minister of the Interior in Thuringia, and by his resistance at the time to the threats and other means of pressure brought to bear on him by the Marxist Reich Minister of the Interior Severing.

Backed by over twenty years experience in the administration of State business, Dr. Frick may be rightly regarded as Hitler's trusted and trustworthy counsellor and collaborator in the work of legislation in the new Germany. Another collaborator conspicuous for the exceptional energy and rapidity of his acts in the first difficult months was the new Prussian Premier Hermann Göring, of whom Hitler himself has said that the word "impossible" is unknown in his vocabulary.

The policy of the National Socialist Government followed four main lines of development, which found their expression in a series of fundamental laws and decrees: namely, the suppression of Marxism, the creation of a real national community, the unification of the Reich, and the protection of the race—i.e. the assurance of hereditary fitness and of the purity of German blood. To these fundamental tasks, others, not less vital, were added, such as the reconstruction of the body of professional functionaries, the reorganisation of the police, the creation of a new communal life, the building-up of the Reich labour service, the development of public hygiene, sports etc.

The Suppression of Marxism

When Hitler announced to the Reichstag that the first task of his Cabinet would be the suppression of Marxism and Communism, certain preparatory steps had already been taken.

On February 2, 1933, three days after the National Socialist Party had taken office, the Reich Government deemed it necessary, in the interest of public security and order, to prohibit all demonstrations of the Communist party (KPD) This prohibition was followed after the fire in the Reichstag on February 27 by a decree of the President of the Reich "for the protection of the nation and the State", destined to prevent acts of violence on the part of the Communists These measures were completed on March 1, 1933, by the prohibition of all Communist propaganda

The Decree in question stipulated that the liberty of the individual, the right of free expression of opinion (including the liberty of the Press), as well as the right of assembly and association could be curtailed, and that a number of measures—for instance the abolition of the secrecy of mails, telegrams, and telephonic conversations, limitations of the right of property, domiciliary visits and confiscations—might be enacted without regard to ordinary legal restrictions All German States and municipalities were obliged to carry out these orders by the Reich Government If any State neglected to take the necessary steps for the re-establishment of public security and order, the authorities of that State forfeited their constitutional rights which were then to be provisionally vested in the Reich Severe penalties were enacted against all persons guilty of resisting the application of these regulations, or of inciting others to resist High treason, attempts on the life of the President of the Reich or of members of the Governments of the Reich and States, conspiracy or incitement to murder, and grave breaches of the public peace were rendered punishable by death The death penalty was also incurred by those guilty of kidnapping in order to obtain a hostage, of causing explosions, of floods, of wilful damage to railways, and of other serious crimes

The action against Communism was led by Hermann Göring in his capacity as Prussian Minister of the Interior In a broadcast speech delivered on the occasion of the publication of certain documents seized in the course of domiciliary visits to various offices and apartments occupied by Communists, Goring justified the measures taken —

"Investigation of the confiscated Communist documents" (he said) "proves that the Communist party intended to continue its activity and that various Communist centres exist throughout the Reich Measures have been taken at the frontiers to render impossible any communications of the Communists in Germany with foreign countries On February 15, it was discovered that the Communists were forming terrorist groups up to 200 men strong, clad in uniforms of Storm Troopers and Steel Helmeters Thus camouflaged, and in lorries, they were to attack shops, department stores, and branch offices of the National Socialist Party Forged orders of leaders of the Storm Troopers and Steel Helmeters enjoined them to make use of their arms without the slightest hesitation and to incite to revolt Other forged orders contained instructions to obtain armoured cars from the police The wives and children of prominent personalities and of police officials were to be arrested as hostages

On February 23, instructions were issued to arm the workers and apply the methods of terrorism under all their varied forms One of these instructions, bearing the significant

title 'The Art of Armed Insurrection', postulates that terrorist groups in rural areas should set fire to farms and country houses in 8 000 different places simultaneously in order to lure the police outside the towns At the same time in 8,000 other places, railways and bridges and other undertakings of public utility were to be blown up Everything was provisionally to serve as arms, from the simple knife and the knuckle duster to boiling water and bricks No mercy was to be shown, even towards women and children Other instructions for poisoning food served in restaurants frequented by supporters of the Government, and for attempts on the lives of leading personalities, have also been discovered "

In consequence of an injunction of the Reich Government, all the Governments of the various federative States immediately prohibited pamphlets, posters, and meetings of the Communist party and also the existence of the party itself Prussia took the lead in forming an auxiliary police force consisting of members of National Socialist groups and Steel Helmeters The various German States followed this example Thousands of Communist agitators were arrested in all parts of the Reich All Communist deputies and functionaries were likewise taken into custody Domiciliary visits to offices of the Communist party led to the confiscation of large quantities of material destined to serve the purpose of propaganda

A detachment of Storm Troops took possession of the "Karl Liebknecht House" in Berlin, in which were the central offices of the German Communist party, and the building was henceforth renamed "Horst Wessel House", in memory of the martyr whose name symbolises the National Socialist faith summarised in the hymn which he composed and which is now one of the two official German national anthems

The payment of their fees to the Communist deputies of the Reichstag was stopped Several prominent Communists including Munzenberg, who was regarded as the ringleader of the terrorist groups, were compelled to take refuge abroad

After the elections on March 5, 1933, the Reich Minister of the Interior announced at the opening meeting of the Reichstag that the Communist deputies would be prevented by more urgent and useful work from taking part in the sittings of the House, since the opportunity would be furnished them of performing a fruitful task in concentration camps If this training should prove successful in rendering them useful and law abiding citizens, they would be welcomed on their return, otherwise the Government would have ways and means of rendering them inoffensive

The Diets of all German States except Prussia were dissolved and were reconstituted on the basis of the proportion of votes cast at the Reichstag elections on March 5 The seats which would have otherwise been allotted to the Communist deputies remained vacant

Thus did the new Government deliver political life in Germany within a few weeks from Communist pressure and terrorism Order and peace reigned once more in Germany

The National Community

The measures taken by the Government against Social Democracy, the other branch of Marxism, were less rigorous and less energetically carried out True, in the pursuit of the policy of eliminating Marxist elements, the principle was adopted of assimilating the functionaries of the Social Democratic party to the Communists, whilst leaving the rank and file of the former unmolested The Social Democratic party was not dissolved until July, 1933, *in consequence* of the hostile intrigues of certain leaders who had sought refuge abroad, notably in Czechoslovakia

The suppression of Social Democracy must nevertheless be regarded as an integral part of the National Government's programme, the aim of which was to abolish the innumerable parties and groups in order to make room for a real community of the whole German nation

Conformably with that programme the Press, the propaganda, and the organisations—including the "Black Red Gold Reichsbanner" and the "Iron Front"—of the Social Democratic party were henceforth prohibited, and State and municipal officials were forbidden to adhere to the party In view of the numerous cases of malversation brought to the light of day when the new regime took the so called Free Labour Syndicates (i e the Social Democratic Trades Union) under its control, the Director of Public Prosecutions ordered the confiscation of all the assets of the party as well as of its newspapers and organisations Some of the leaders of the party who had gone abroad decided to remove the headquarters of the party to Prague Those leaders, however, who remained in Germany and who on their own testimony formed the majority, with the former President of the Reichstag Herr Lobe at their head, declared that the seat of the party could not be elsewhere than in Germany The National Socialist Press emphasised that this duplicity could deceive nobody, whereupon in June, 1933, a decree was issued expelling the Social Democratic deputies from all elective assemblies in the Reich

Hitler's action against the Social Democratic party was considerably facilitated by the passive attitude of its leaders and by the positively indecent haste shown by some of them to cross the frontier The result was that the working masses lost the confidence which they had hitherto had in those leaders If one scans the newspapers of those days one will find daily reports of disillusioned Social Democrats who went over to the Brown Shirts Large numbers of Marxists severed their relations with their party organisations and refused any further subscriptions In industrial undertakings the Marxist representatives on the "workers' councils" voluntarily resigned in favour of the National Socialist working groups' leaders[1])

[1]) The Swedish Social Democratic organ ' Socialdemokraten" in Stockholm wrote on March 29, 1933 ' the German Trades Union movement is adapting itself to the new political conditions Its leaders are not only prepared to tolerate but also to co-operate with the new Government We deeply regret this servile attitude and this zeal of the German Trades Union to serve their political opponents "

Thus deprived of the support of the working classes, the Social Democratic party lost its own inherent strength and was necessarily condemned to disappear from the political scene in Germany. A curious fate reserved for it in the country of its origin, whence it had spread to nearly all the countries in the world.

It was only consistent with the programme which aimed at the creation of a national German community that the definite suppression of the Social Democratic party in July 1933 should have been followed by the voluntary self-dissolution of all the other parties.

From the very beginning the German Nationals and the Steel Helmeters had rallied to the Hitler movement. Later-on it turned out, however, that some organisations connected with the German National movement had absorbed a number of Communist elements. Those organisations were prohibited, whereupon the leaders of the German National party in full agreement with Chancellor Hitler took the initiative of dissolving the party. The members of the former German National front were recognised by Hitler as "champions entitled to equal rights with all others in National Germany".

The Centre party, the hitherto impregnable fortress of Catholic Germany, which had voted in favour of the Enabling Law at the sitting of the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, followed the example thus set by the German Nationals—inspired, possibly, by the traditional care of confessional interests.

The smaller parties followed suit. After the dissolution of the Marxist trades unions came that of the other trades unions and also of the Employers' Associations, and finally the concentration of all German workers, whether brain or manual workers, in the newly-founded "German Labour Front".

A law of July 14, 1933, prohibited the formation of new parties. And on December 1, 1933, the Cabinet enacted a law "to ensure the unity of Party and State". The first paragraph of this law proclaims the National Socialist State to be the result of the National Socialist revolution. Under the terms of this law "the National Socialist Party (NSDAP.) is the incorporation of the German conception of the State and is indissolubly bound up with the State".

The moral and political unity of the German nation was thus re-established. From an internal point of view this unity was regulated two years later, in September, 1935, on the occasion of the annual congress of the National Socialist Party at Nürnberg, by the "Civic Law of the Reich" with the supplementary clauses destined to facilitate its application. The law in question stipulates that a citizen of the Reich is alone capable of enjoying full political rights; that citizenship is conditioned by race; and that the citizen must have proved that he is both capable and desirous of faithfully serving the German nation and the Reich. German nationals, in contradistinction to German citizens, are all persons who enjoy the protection of the Reich and are consequently under special obligations towards it.

The most important complement of this law was constituted by an executory decree of November 14, 1935, under the terms of which no Jew could become a citizen of the Reich. Jews are therefore deprived of the right to vote on political

questions and to fulfil any public functions Paragraph 5 of the decree defines exactly what is a Jew in the legal meaning of the term 1 Everyone is considered a Jew who has at least three purely Jewish grandparents, 2 under special circumstances a half breed who descends from two purely Jewish grandparents may be placed in the category of Jews if the person in question belongs to the Jewish religious community or is married to another person of Jewish race

The solidarity of the German nation thus realised has found its clearest and most unmistakable expression in the various plebiscites which have taken place since the advent of the National Socialist Party to power The most notable of these plebiscites was that taken on March 29, 1936, when 99% of the German nation recorded by their votes their support of Hitler and his policy

Unification of the Reich

The reform of the German constitution was one of the first tasks set itself by the National Socialist Government, and one of those most energetically carried out The carrying out of this task began with the despatch of Reich commissars to those German States where no right wing Government yet existed The mission was entrusted to these commissars of assuming all necessary authority for the preservation of public security and order, consequently of taking command of the police All this happened without the slightest friction, with the result that the formation of an auxiliary police corps was everywhere rendered possible The Governments of all the States, with the exception of those in South Germany, which refused to capitulate, were dismissed without difficulty

In order to understand the situation in South Germany it should be recalled that after the elections of March 5, 1933, General Goring categorically declared that the tremendous victory gained by the National Front had as a result to withdraw from the Governments in Southern Germany the right to claim to rule in the name of the people Negotiations followed between the Governments in question and various leaders of the National Socialist Party, in consequence of which the former agreed to resign their functions The submission of the Bavarian Government, which for 43 years past had represented the Bavarian People's party, was particularly dramatic The Bavarian Premier, Dr Held, had been in office since 1924 This capable and eloquent parliamentarian, who was also a clever and highly skilled political tactician, had frequently declared that he would never tolerate any interference in Bavarian affairs, and his devoted collaborator, Dr Schaeffer, publicly stated that any Reich Commissar who might venture to enter Bavarian territory would immediately be arrested

Rumours were current that Dr Held and Dr Schaeffer were conspiring with Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and Baron Guttenberg, the Chairman of the Monarchist association "Königsbund", to restore the Wittelsbach dynasty An autonomous Bavarian Monarchy, however, would have been a danger for the unity of the Reich, and a rapid intervention was indispensable Efforts to reach an understanding having failed, an ultimatum was presented, and after

a few hours the National Socialist formations occupied the streets and public buildings in Munich. The same evening President von Hindenburg appointed General von Epp Reich Commissar for Bavaria and a new Bavarian Cabinet consisting of the National Socialist deputies Wagner, Frank, and Siebert was constituted.

The Swastika henceforth flew over the entire territory of the Reich, whether in big cities or in the smallest villages.

As has already been mentioned, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Law on March 23. Hereafter the task of unifying the Reich made rapid progress.

Only one week later the law providing for "the uniformity (*Gleichschaltung*) of the States and the Reich", destined to ensure similitude of policy in the Reich, the States, and the municipalities on the basis of the results yielded by the elections to the Reichstag was enacted. This was followed a week later, on April 7, 1933, by the so-called *Reichsstatthalter-Gesetz* (Law concerning the Reich Governors), which constituted a decisive step in the reorganisation of the constitutional relations between the Reich and its component States. By the institution of Reich Governors as men enjoying the special confidence of the Chancellor, the realisation of the ideal of unity in the political leadership of Reich and States was brought considerably nearer.

Under the provisions of this law the task is incumbent on the Reich Governors of ensuring that the directive principles enunciated by the Chancellor are applied in the various States. The Reich Governors are empowered to appoint and to dismiss the Prime Ministers and other members of the Governments in their respective States, to dissolve the State Parliament and order new elections, to enact laws for the State of which they are in charge, to appoint and dismiss judges and other State functionaries. They also exercise the prerogative of mercy in capital cases. In Prussia the Chancellor is himself Governor, and the Ministers of the Prussian State can also be Ministers of the Reich.

"What would have happened to Germany", Hitler asked at the National Socialist Party Congress in 1935, "if an end had not been made generations ago to the permanent scandal presented by the spectacle of a number of miniscule German States, whose existence was never profitable to the German nation but invariably advantageous to Germany's enemies? A nation which speaks a common language, which has inherited a common civilisation, a common history, and a common destiny, cannot but seek unity in its leadership. If it does not do so, it must inevitably lose the advantage conferred on it by numerical superiority, which will then operate solely to its detriment.

The events that took place in January, February, and March, 1933, showed clearly the degree of degradation to which such a state of affairs could reduce our nation, when narrow-minded, egotistical party politicians were able to associate their miserable party interests with the individualistic traditions of the various German States and thus imperil the unity of the Reich. The *Reichsstatthalter-Gesetz* has been the German nation's first reply to the adversaries of its unity and its strength".

On April 7, 1933, the law for the "Reconstruction of the Body of Public Functionaries" was promulgated, under the terms of which all Communist and Jewish functionaries, and also all those who were either insufficiently trained

his own Government, he defined, from the point of view of the maintenance of strict discipline, the National Socialist revolution as "the revolution of revolutions," and added that he was proud to have been able to carry out the greatest transformation in the history of the German nation with a minimum of sacrifice and loss The Chancellor went on to say —

"We have replied by force, and of course with lightning like rapidity, only in those cases when, even after January 30, 1933, the Bolshevist lust of hate still believed itself capable of preventing by violence the triumph of the National Socialist ideal As for the elements, whose resistance appeared to us to demonstrate their absolute lack of political acumen, we contented ourselves with taking them into custody, whilst reserving our right to liberate them after a short time There were some whose political activity was only a pretext for the commission of crimes, whose records bore testimony to the numerous sentences of imprisonment or penal servitude passed on them, and whose work of destruction we brought to a standstill by giving them—probably for the first time in their lives—an opportunity to perform useful work

The total number of victims of the National Socialist revolution has been less than the number of National Socialists who were murdered in pre revolutionary Germany by our Bolshevist opponents in the single year 1932

This has only been rendered possible by the application of a principle which has not only dictated our activity in the past, but which will continue to guide us in the future—namely, it cannot be the aim of a revolution to engender chaos its aim must be to substitute something better for something inferior'

Those who happened to be in Germany at the time when the National Socialists came into power can conscientiously affirm that, contrary to reports current abroad, the revolution was carried out practically without bloodshed or material damage Sensational rumours of pogroms and wholesale massacres can only be attributed to delirious excesses of phantasy or to calculated propaganda

Collisions inevitably occurred between numerically insignificant groups of political opponents, but such clashes were the exception and not the rule Chancellor Hitler himself, in a broadcast communication, gave the order that strictest discipline should be observed and that no isolated action should be undertaken Since executive power was henceforth vested exclusively in the National Socialist Government, such individual actions could only be attributed to petty personal spite and would be calculated to discredit the new regime in the eyes of the world As a matter of fact, various members of National Socialist groups found guilty of misbehaviour were expelled from the party in addition to incurring other penalties

III.

Parity of Rights between States. Policy based on Freedom and Peace

The ideological revolution which found expression in the transformation of the internal structure of the Reich inevitably exerted its influence on the development of the relations of the Reich with foreign Powers, and also on the solution of those problems of home policy connected with Germany's international obligations.

In order to understand Germany's attitude towards the outer world—an attitude which was invariably criticised abroad and produced diplomatic reactions whenever Hitler placed foreign countries before new accomplished facts and new "surprises"—it is necessary to understand the aims of Hitler's foreign policy, as well as the demands, based on international law, put forward by him, and also the results effectively obtained.

The Aims of National Socialist Foreign Policy

The principal aims of the National Socialist Government in the domain of foreign policy were clearly delineated in the programme developed by Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, and in numerous subsequent utterances by the Chancellor. The aims in question may be summarized as follows:—

1. The suppression of all discrimination which is degrading for Germany in her relations with other States; that is to say, the establishment of an *effective and unconditional parity of rights* for the Reich in its international relations and the definite suppression of the distinction between victors and vanquished on which the Treaty of Versailles was based and which has unfortunately still continued to prevail since the War in the public mind, thereby preventing the return to peace in the true sense of the word. This demand implies, in other words, the abrogation of all clauses of the Treaty incompatible with the honour of Germany and with her prestige as a great Power—first and foremost the abrogation of those clauses concerning unilateral disarmament, the demilitarised zone in the Rhineland, and the attribution of war-guilt exclusively to Germany.

2. The re-establishment of friendly relations with all nations who are willing to break, once and for all, with the past; this would entail the recognition of the vital rights of all nations, just as the Reich itself is prepared to recognise them, and would thus serve the cause of peace. It must, however, be recalled that Hitler made one exception to this general principle, namely, in the case of Bolshevist Russia, whose policy invariably tends to fan the flame of revo-

lutionary Communism in all States From the National Socialist point of view, the Soviet Union is not a State to which the ordinary rules of international intercourse can be applied, since the Soviet Union is the inspirer of a universal movement, the aim of which is the destruction of Western civilisation

Let us now examine the significance of these two main objects of National Socialist Germany's diplomatic activity

Hitler takes the view that all the problems which create to-day a feeling of insecurity have their origin in the defects of the Treaty of Versailles, which failed to bring about a reasonable solution of the most important and decisive national and economic questions arising in consequence of the Great War The first of those problems was that of the formation and organisation of European States conformably with the principle of nationality evolved in the course of the past century An ideal settlement would have been that by means of which the frontiers of nationalities coincided with frontiers of States, such a settlement would have avoided a long series of future possibilities of friction Far from envisaging a settlement along these lines, the statesmen who drew up the Treaty of Versailles—whether their motives were ignorance or partisanship—decided on solutions which necessarily contained the seeds of future conflicts owing to their lack alike of logic and equity

The solution of economic problems by the Peace Conference was not less unsatisfactory A real pacification of Europe could only have been obtained by statesmen convinced that difficulties impeding national existence have invariably been, and will always remain, a fertile source of international conflicts, it could not be realised by statesmen holding notions of expiation, punishment, reparation, etc Instead of preaching destruction it would have been necessary to create a new order of things, a new of system of political and economic relations between nations, which would have taken account in the largest possible measure of the conditions of existence of the different nations

The theory that the economic destruction of a nation of 67 million souls could usefully serve the interests of other nations is too absurd for anyone to be able to take it seriously to day It was, if possible, still more absurd to attempt to carry out this destruction by methods which by virtue of a natural law of cause and effect were inevitably bound to result in a similar catastrophe for the victors themselves Among those methods, that of reparations was especially remarkable By demanding from Germany payments in cash, the Allies compelled her to resort to an abnormal development of her export trade in order to procure the necessary amount of foreign exchange This had the unavoidable result of inflicting economic loss on other nations But the consequences to the Allies would have been not less detrimental if they had confined their demands to reparations in kind, since the fulfilment of this demand would have ruined their own production

The Treaty of Versailles further failed to recognise the importance of re-establishing an international sense of law and legality, since all its provisions were based on the assertion that Germany alone was responsible for the World War This method of proceeding simplified the lessons of history by teaching that

the vanquished are invariably the guilty party in all wars, which has the advantage of enabling the victors to dictate the conditions of peace accordingly

Such a method of proceeding, however, has a terrible and farreaching significance since it serves to transform into a permanent rule of international law relations which, accidentally or otherwise, existed at the end of any given war The discrimination between victors and vanquished was thus raised to the level of a principle of a new international code of law and of a new social order, the consequence being that a great nation was relegated to the rank of a second-rate and inferior State at the very moment of the creation of a League of Nations

The treatment meted out to Germany at Versailles could not in the long run lead to the consolidation of the world's peace The reduction of the vanquished to absolute impotence was not calculated to allay international tension or to diminish the number of likely sources of conflict On the contrary it led to endless demands accompanied by menaces and sanctions, the result being to generate a general feeling of unrest and insecurity and to threaten the economy of the entire world with destruction Treaties destined to consolidate peace between nations and render it durable must be based on the fundamental principle of the real equality of all nations

As regards the question of the unilateral disarmament imposed on Germany by the Treaty, the opinion of the National Socialist Party from the moment of its advent to power was perfectly clear and unambiguous namely, that the intention to permanently maintain a nation of 67 million inhabitants in a condition of military inferiority was not only an act of flagrant injustice, but also constituted a serious danger to peace As Chancellor Hitler's deputy, Reich Minister Rudolf Hess, said "The military impotence of a nation only too often awakens in foreign armies the desire to undertake a military 'promenade' without any risk to themselves The military impotence of a single nation situated amidst strongly armed nations can only incite ambitious men to conquer laurels cheaply, it can only incite Governments to distract the attention of their own nations from their internal affairs by launching them in the perilous adventures of war"

Why, for many years, did Germany never cease to demand general disarmament? According to the precise declarations of Chancellor Hitler, 1) this demand corresponded to an elementary exigency founded alike on morality, on law, and on reason—an exigency admitted, moreover, by the Treaty of Versailles which expressly declared that the disarmament of Germany was only to be the prelude to general disarmament, 2) the disqualification of a great nation cannot be perpetually maintained

Germany had disarmed under rigorous international control An immense quantity of war material had been destroyed, innumerable barracks and factories demolished, the Rhineland demilitarised, fortresses levelled to the ground, almost all her warships and thousands of airplanes had been surrendered Germany had been forced to abandon her entire historic system of defence, consequently also the formation of military reserves The little army of 100,000

men left to Germany by the Treaty was, into the bargain, not even allowed the use of some of the most essential arms

A striking contrast was furnished by Germany's neighbours who without exception increased their armaments to a truly formidable extent during the years following the War Whereas Germany was not allowed to possess a single airplane, France counted 3,046 in active service, Belgium 350, Poland 700, Czechoslovakia 670 To these should be added a vast number of reserve planes, thousands of tanks, heavy artillery, and other war material Under these conditions was it unnatural that Hitler should have asked whether disarmed and impotent Germany had not the same right to demand security as all the other heavily armed States united by coalitions between themselves?

Germany was nevertheless prepared at all times to renounce the little military organisation and to destroy the small amount of arms still left her, provided the other nations consented to a similar unrestricted disarmament If, however, those nations were not willing to carry out the obligation to disarm incumbent on them under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was entitled to persist in her claim to parity of rights

The Reich was inspired solely by the desire to maintain its independence and to be able to protect its frontiers It was prepared to renounce the right of possessing any arms destined for the purpose of attack provided the other nations did the same The Reich was prepared to declare its agreement with Mr Ramsay MacDonald's scheme for disarmament then being debated in Geneva It was also prepared to adhere to every pact of non aggression, since it did not itself dream of attacking anyone, but only of ensuring its own security

We now come to the second principle aim of National Socialist Germany's foreign policy, namely, the establishment of friendly relations with other nations—in a word, its policy of peace

This policy of peace was emphasised in nearly all the speeches delivered by Hitler and his collaborators Already in his speech before the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, Hitler had stressed this aspect of his policy Much more important, however, was the speech delivered by the Chancellor on May 17, 1933, which, in his own words, was addressed not only to the German nation but to the whole world

After having given the assurance that "no European war could ameliorate the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs," the Chancellor continued

"Speaking as a conscientious National Socialist I wish to proclaim alike on behalf of the National Government and of the entire movement of National Reawakening that the young Germany is inspired by the profoundest understanding for the feelings and convictions of other nations, as well as for their justifiable claims to existence The young German generation which had hitherto known nothing but the distress and the misery and the humiliation of its own nation has suffered too much to be able to dream of inflicting a similar fate on other peoples

Inspired by boundless love and fidelity towards our own country, we respect the national rights of others exactly for the same reason, and from the bottom of our hearts we desire to live in peace and friendship with them.

We reject the idea of 'Germanisation'. The mentality of the last century which believed it possible to convert Poles or French into Germans is incomprehensible for us—so incomprehensible that we are passionately opposed to any attempt which might be made in a contrary sense."

The Reichstag welcomed these declarations with enthusiasm and thus gave unanimous expression to the will for peace of the whole German nation.

At the Party Congress in Nürnberg in September, 1933, Herr Alfred Rosenberg emphasised that a true National Socialist must also be a true advocate of peace, since for him the blood of his own nation is the most precious possession which should only be sacrificed in case of extreme necessity.

One month later, when Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, Hitler found it necessary to publicly explain the reasons for this important and farreaching step. He did so in his broadcast speech of October 14, 1933, in which he dealt particularly with the question of Franco-German relations, basing his own utterances on certain declarations of the French Premier M. Daladier. The Chancellor said:—

"I consider as a proof of a noble sentiment of justice the words pronounced by the French Premier, M. Daladier, in his recent speech and which are evidently born of a spirit of reconciliation for which countless millions of Germans are grateful. National Socialist Germany has no more ardent desire than to bring back the competition of European nations into the sphere in which, animated by the most noble of rivalries, it enabled humanity to partake of the riches of culture and art which have contributed in an inestimable degree to the beauty of the world.

We also note, with an emotion sustained by hope, that the French Government presided over by M. Daladier has no intention of offending or humiliating the German nation. We are moved by the reference to the sad fact that these two great nations have so often in the course of history sacrificed the blood of their best manhood on the battlefields. I speak in the name of the whole German nation when I give the assurance that we are all inspired by a sincere desire to put an end to an enmity, the sacrifices entailed by which bear no proportion to any possible advantages.

The German nation is convinced that its military honour has been preserved pure and immaculate in a thousand battles, just as we see in the French soldier our ancient but glorious adversary. The whole German nation would be happy at the thought of being able to spare to its children and grandchildren the sufferings which we had to endure during many years of bitterest experience. The history of the last 150 years, with all its changes and chances, should surely have taught the two nations the impossibility of accomplishing important and lasting transformations by the sole means of the shedding of blood. But as a National Socialist I refuse to endeavour to win over the citizens of a foreign nation, who will not love us the more on that account, at the expense of lives that are dear to us.

What a wonderful event in the eyes of the whole world would it be if the two nations were to definitely banish violence from their mutual relations? The German nation is ready to do so.

men left to Germany by the Treaty was, into the bargain, not even allowed the use of some of the most essential arms

A striking contrast was furnished by Germany's neighbours who without exception increased their armaments to a truly formidable extent during the years following the War Whereas Germany was not allowed to possess a single airplane, France counted 3,046 in active service, Belgium 350, Poland 700, Czechoslovakia 670 To these should be added a vast number of reserve planes, thousands of tanks, heavy artillery, and other war material Under these conditions was it unnatural that Hitler should have asked whether disarmed and impotent Germany had not the same right to demand security as all the other heavily armed States united by coalitions between themselves?

Germany was nevertheless prepared at all times to renounce the little military organisation and to destroy the small amount of arms still left her, provided the other nations consented to a similar unrestricted disarmament If, however, those nations were not willing to carry out the obligation to disarm incumbent on them under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was entitled to persist in her claim to parity of rights

The Reich was inspired solely by the desire to maintain its independence and to be able to protect its frontiers It was prepared to renounce the right of possessing any arms destined for the purpose of attack provided the other nations did the same The Reich was prepared to declare its agreement with Mr Ramsay MacDonald's scheme for disarmament then being debated in Geneva It was also prepared to adhere to every pact of non aggression, since it did not itself dream of attacking anyone, but only of ensuring its own security

We now come to the second principle aim of National Socialist Germany's foreign policy, namely, the establishment of friendly relations with other nations—in a word, its policy of peace

This policy of peace was emphasised in nearly all the speeches delivered by Hitler and his collaborators Already in his speech before the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, Hitler had stressed this aspect of his policy Much more important, however, was the speech delivered by the Chancellor on May 17, 1933, which, in his own words, was addressed not only to the German nation but to the whole world

After having given the assurance that "no European war could ameliorate the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs," the Chancellor continued

"Speaking as a conscientious National Socialist I wish to proclaim alike on behalf of the National Government and of the entire movement of National Reawakening that the young Germany is inspired by the profoundest understanding for the feelings and convictions of other nations, as well as for their justifiable claims to existence The young German generation which had hitherto known nothing but the distress and the misery and the humiliation of its own nation has suffered too much to be able to dream of inflicting a similar fate on other peoples

Inspired by boundless love and fidelity towards our own country, we respect the national rights of others exactly for the same reason, and from the bottom of our hearts we desire to live in peace and friendship with them

We reject the idea of 'Germanisation' The mentality of the last century which believed it possible to convert Poles or French into Germans is incomprehensible for us—so incomprehensible that we are passionately opposed to any attempt which might be made in a contrary sense "

The Reichstag welcomed these declarations with enthusiasm and thus gave unanimous expression to the will for peace of the whole German nation

At the Party Congress in Nurnberg in September, 1933, Herr Alfred Rosenberg emphasised that a true National Socialist must also be a true advocate of peace, since for him the blood of his own nation is the most precious possession which should only be sacrificed in case of extreme necessity

One month later, when Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, Hitler found it necessary to publicly explain the reasons for this important and farreaching step He did so in his broadcast speech of October 14, 1933, in which he dealt particularly with the question of Franco German relations, basing his own utterances on certain declarations of the French Premier M Daladier The Chancellor said —

"I consider as a proof of a noble sentiment of justice the words pronounced by the French Premier, M Daladier, in his recent speech and which are evidently born of a spirit of reconciliation for which countless millions of Germans are grateful National Socialist Germany has no more ardent desire than to bring back the competition of European nations into the sphere in which, animated by the most noble of rivalries, it enabled humanity to partake of the riches of culture and art which have contributed in an inestimable degree to the beauty of the world

We also note with an emotion sustained by hope, that the French Government presided over by M Daladier has no intention of offending or humiliating the German nation We are moved by the reference to the sad fact that these two great nations have so often in the course of history sacrificed the blood of their best manhood on the battle fields I speak in the name of the whole German nation when I give the assurance that we are all inspired by a sincere desire to put an end to an enmity, the sacrifices entailed by which bear no proportion to any possible advantages

The German nation is convinced that its military honour has been preserved pure and immaculate in a thousand battles, just as we see in the French soldier our ancient but glorious adversary The whole German nation would be happy at the thought of being able to spare to its children and grandchildren the sufferings which we had to endure during many years of bitterest experience The history of the last 150 years, with all its changes and chances, should surely have taught the two nations the impossibility of accomplishing important and lasting transformations by the sole means of the shedding of blood But as a National Socialist I refuse to endeavour to win over the citizens of a foreign nation, who will not love us the more on that account, at the expense of lives that are dear to us

What a wonderful event in the eyes of the whole world would it be if the two nations were to definitely banish violence from their mutual relations? The German nation is ready to do so

on the occasion of the International Road Congress, when, referring to certain assertions in foreign newspapers, he said —

"After all our declarations and proposals on the question of disarmament, after all that we have said and done in the cause of European peace, we can only regard as a malignant calumny the reproach levelled against us of wishing, by the proclamation of our peaceful intentions, merely to gain a breathing space in order to realise aggressive plans once we consider ourselves strong enough to do so"

On February 28, 1935, the Committee of Three appointed by the League of Nations remitted the powers vested in it to the representatives of the Reich Three days later Hitler declared in a speech that the reunion of the Saar with the Reich was not only a source of intense satisfaction for Germany, but that it was also of good omen for the whole of Europe, since it rendered possible a definite improvement of the relations between France and Germany He expressed the same idea in his proclamation issued on March 16, 1935, on the occasion of the reintroduction of compulsory military service Chancellor Hitler added —

"The Reich Government has given the solemn assurance in Paris that after the settlement of the Saar question Germany has no further territorial claims on France The Reich Government believes that, by a heavy political and material sacrifice, and in the most solemn form, it has thereby realised the indispensable condition for putting an end to a century old strife between two great nations"

The same view was expressed by Chancellor Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, and also in subsequent statements on Germany's policy of peace In February 1936, a few days before the ratification of the pact of assistance between France and the Soviet Union, Hitler had a conversation with the well-known French journalist M Bertrand de Jouvenel In reply to questions concerning the policy which he intended to pursue towards France, the Chancellor said —

"I wished to prove to my nation the folly of the idea of an hereditary enmity between France and Germany The German nation understood me In fact, the German nation followed me when I undertook a much more difficult work of reconciliation, namely, that of a reconciliation between Germany and Poland

I am speaking in the name of the whole German nation when I declare that France, if she desires it, could put an end for all times to the alleged German peril, for the German nation has the most complete confidence in its Fuhrer and the Fuhrer desires friendship with France"

In his address to Reichstag on January 30th, 1937, the Fuhrer insisted that he had repeatedly expressed the wish to establish friendly relations with all neighbouring countries He solemnly declared that there could be no earthly reason for the existence of any humanly conceivable points of dissension between France and Germany

It is not surprising that the Führer should thus insist on the necessity of a definite friendship with France It would certainly afford him the greatest satisfaction to live in history as the statesman who, in the interest of peace, successfully accomplished a most difficult and vital task which a number of

his predecessors had sought in vain to achieve Since the tranquillity and prosperity of Europe depend on a satisfactory solution of the Franco German problem it is only logical to conclude that Hitler's desire to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the two countries is inspired by a sincere love of peace

Berlin—Moscow

We have already seen that there is one exception to the Third Reich's declared policy of endeavouring to establish friendly relations with all other nations, the exception being Bolshevist Russia It is easy to understand why this should be so

The National Socialist movement had inscribed on its banner the motto "War on Communism" and had invariably proclaimed its determination to deliver the German nation from this "contagious disease" After taking office Hitler succeeded in fully realising this aim Bolshevism in Germany was rapidly extirpated thanks to the application of a series of energetic measures, and the effort to "bolshevise" Germany undertaken by Moscow signally failed

The National Socialist Party might have contented itself with its success, and maybe this was the case during the opening months of the new regime[1] It soon, however, became evident that the rulers of the Soviet Union, despite their defeat, were bent on renewing their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Germany The National Socialist regime was consequently compelled to regard Bolshevist Russia as its mortal enemy Hence the speakers at the annual Congress of the National Socialist Party in 1935, denounced not only the Third International but also the Soviet Government—between which, moreover, Germany does not make any distinction, since they both incorporate in an equal degree the doctrines of Bolshevism

A particularly vehement and outspoken speech was delivered on this occasion by the Reich Minister of Propaganda, Dr Goebbels, who is the most fertile orator in new Germany, a master of the art of polemics and endowed with a rare gift for irony, and whose persuasive eloquence played a decisive part in the development of the party, especially in Berlin In the speech in question Dr Goebbels cited an article in a leading London newspaper which pointed out a certain analogy between the Russian and German systems With the help of extensive statistical and other material, Dr Goebbels showed that the author of the article had not taken the trouble to study the fundamental and essential principles either of National Socialism or of Bolshevism, and that he was consequently not qualified to appreciate the differences which separate them

One of the main differences, according to Dr Goebbels, lies in the fact that Bolshevism deliberately aims at revolutionising all nations and that it is cha

[1] In the course of his exposition of his programme to the Reichstag on March 23 1933 Hitler said The German Government wishes to entertain with the Soviet Union friendly relations profitable to both countries The German Government considers precisely because it is itself born of a national revolution that it is in a position to pursue a positive policy towards Soviet Russia The struggle against Communism in Germany is an internal affair which concerns us alone and in which we shall never tolerate any foreign intervention

The first of those postulates is that international relations should be based on the fundamental principle of *national honour*, since it is only on this condition that such relations can be perfectly clear, durable, and profitable to the cause of peace

A Peace Treaty must not imply merely a cessation of actual hostilities, it must regulate the future relations between the adversaries of yesterday in the interest of both parties, and it must consequently represent an agreement dispassionately concluded in the light of reason and justice Hence it is absolutely indispensable that such a treaty should not be a cause of humiliation for the vanquished by impressing a mark of inferiority on him, for this must inevitably result in the long run in creating an intolerable situation and in breeding the germs of new conflicts

In this connection it may be well to recall the standpoint adopted by Bismarck after the wars of 1866 and 1870/1 The peace treaties concluded by that great statesman took account alike of the vital requirements and of the honour of the vanquished In his speech to the Prussian Diet on September 1, 1866, the Iron Chancellor said —

„A peace treaty will rarely realise its object if one of the parties is required to begin by avowing that it was in the wrong "

In his *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, Bismarck wrote —

"Having regard to our future relations with Austria, I was chiefly concerned to prevent as far as possible any recollections calculated to cause humiliation, in so far as such a policy was compatible with our own interests The triumphal entry of our troops into the enemy's capital would naturally have been a flattering recollection for our Army, but it would have been contrary to the requirements of our policy Without being an imperious necessity for us it would have wounded the *amour propre* of the Austrians and have necessarily increased the difficulties of our future mutual relations In any case it was of vital importance that the state of mind created by our victory should not be such as to render our former adversaries irreconcilable It was our duty not to inflict an incurable wound on their *amour propre* "

Thanks to Bismarck's prudent policy it was possible later on to convert Austria, the ex enemy, into an ally of Germany.

On October 25, 1871, in a speech to the Reichstag on post-war relations between France and Germany, Bismarck declared —

"We do not consider it our duty to inflict more injury on our neighbours than is absolutely necessary to ensure the carrying out of the Peace Treaty On the contrary, we regard it as our duty to be useful to them and to place them in a position to repair the disaster which has overtaken their country, in so far as this may be possible without imperilling our own interests "

A German diplomatist having advised Bismarck to impose exceptionally severe peace conditions on France, the Chancellor replied that it was necessary that France should remain a great nation in the interests of the European

Dr Heinrich Rogge, Lecturer on International Law at the University of Berlin (Schlieffen, Berlin 1935) The lines traced by Hitler find moreover, their expression in the semi official organ of the German Foreign Office *Deutsche Diplomatisch Politische Korrespondenz*

Concert of Powers. It is, moreover, known that Bismarck was opposed to the annexation of Lorraine and that he only gave way against his will to the demand of the military leaders who insisted on the cession of Metz. To sum up in a few words Bismarck's policy after the wars of 1866 and 1870/1 it may be said that by paying a high tribute of esteem to vanquished adversaries he sought to stifle within the latter all desire for *revanche*, and that he simultaneously endeavoured to prevent the growth of a spirit of arrogance among the victors. He did so in the consciousness that both these factors are equally prejudicial to the cause of peace.

This breadth of mind was conspicuously absent among the statesmen assembled at Versailles after the Great War, whose sole preoccupation was to guarantee their own future security by the ruthless material and moral subjugation of Germany.

The second postulate at the basis of Hitler's foreign policy is that durable treaties concerning security and the limitation of armaments can only be founded on the *legitimate and equal right of national defence*. Germany is prepared to take her share of all the limitations of armaments accepted by other Powers, but nevertheless insists on her right to organise her own defence conformably with the necessities of her own situation.

The principle thus enunciated is by no means without precedent in history. In his message of June 22, 1932, to the Disarmament Conference President Hoover emphasised that the armaments of all States must be regulated by the necessities of their own self-defence. On March 16, 1935, by the law concerning the reorganisation of the Army, the German Government announced its intention of taking the necessary measures for putting an end to the military impotence to which a great nation had been condemned—an impotence as humiliating for the German people as it was dangerous for the peace of Europe. The German Government, in so doing, was inspired by the same considerations as those which had motivated the rearmament of Great Britain and which Mr. Baldwin had defined in the words:—

"A country which is unwilling to take the precautionary measures necessitated by its own defence will always lack both material and moral power in this world."

The necessity of national defence was dealt with in detail in the British White Book of March 4, 1935, which sought to justify the British programme of rearmament. National Socialist Germany could, moreover, cite the words of General Weygand: "we wish to be strong, not in order to threaten anyone, but in order to defend ourselves."

Exactly the same idea inspired the proclamation of the Reich Government to the German nation announcing the reintroduction of compulsory military service:—

"The desire of the Government, as guardian of the honour and interests of the German nation, is to provide the necessary means whereby not only the integrity of the territory of the Reich, but also the international prestige of Germany as one of the guarantors of European peace, may be assured."

Hitler considers that the scale of armaments must be proportionate to the dangers to which a country is exposed It is the exclusive right of every nation to decide this question for itself Hitler said —

"If Great Britain decides to what extent she must rearm, this decision will be readily understood by everyone in Germany, since it is evident that only the British Government can decide what protection is necessary for the British Empire But it is also evident that only the German Government can decide what protection is necessary for the German nation "

A third postulate on which Hitler's foreign policy is based is that *direct understanding* constitutes the best means of ensuring peace

The Chancellor has endeavoured to explain this principle in a number of speeches and other utterances, notably in an interview granted to Mr Lochner, the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press on April 4, 1934, in which Hitler stressed that his most cherished wish would be to have a *tête-à-tête* discussion with the Heads of other States

The desire for a direct understanding has already been realised in several cases That its realisation has borne fruit is evidenced in the relations established by the Reich with Poland, Italy, and Austria, in the compromise reached concerning the Saar, and in the Anglo German naval convention. All these diplomatic agreements were concluded independently of the League of Nations Hitler draws the conclusion that bilateral pacts of security or non-aggression or neutrality are preferable to multi lateral pacts drawn up between a greater number of participants

National Socialist Germany has become convinced of the accuracy of this point of view by observing that the League of Nations has failed to achieve either "collective understandings" or "collective security"—a failure which has led to a general demand for the reform of the League Hitler does not believe in the impartiality of the Geneva institution Already in October, 1933, he expressed in an interview with Mr. Ward Price his scepticism regarding the future of the League if the latter should continue to develop into an organisation for the furtherance of the interests of a few States to the detriment of those of the others

The Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron von Neurath, in his previously mentioned speech at the International Road Congress on September 17, 1934, emphasised that fundamental reforms would be necessary to transform the League into a real instrument of peace, which it ought to be according to its covenant Baron von Neurath went on to deal with the method of collective action inaugurated at Versailles, saying —

"I must admit that the various theories of pacts put forward in recent years, that this 'pactomania' as it has justly been called, do not appear to me a favourable symptom of the spirit in which in many cases European policy is conducted The salvation of Europe cannot reside in alliances or groupings of Powers liable to be constantly changed according as transitory conditions may seem to demand Such political tendencies are only a proof of the defects of the political system imposed on Europe by the Treaties of 1919—defects which manifest themselves more clearly every day.

In the long run it would be dangerous and even puerile to shut one's eyes to those defects and to refuse to admit them candidly. As long as statesmen have not the courage to sincerely face facts and to endeavour to reach a settlement of antagonistic interests by means of frank discussions between States on the basis of mutual consideration and parity of rights, it is useless to expect an improvement of the general political situation."

In those cases where interests do not always harmonise, Hitler considers that the best course for a nation to pursue consists in contenting itself in each specific case with the minimum represented by a bilateral agreement, so as to prevent the task of cooperation being rendered impossible by the unrealisable exigencies of collective pacts. An understanding in view of far-reaching aims can only be arrived at piecemeal and gradually.

National Socialism nevertheless does not refuse to admit the principle of collective security provided such security be obtainable conformably with the methods adopted at Locarno, or if security is considered as combining a pact of mutual assistance with a possibility of its revision. In his speech of May 21, 1935, in which he enunciated thirteen points, the adoption of which would be calculated to prevent war, Chancellor Hitler stated:—

"The German Government is at all times prepared to participate in a system of collective cooperation for ensuring the peace of Europe, but at the same time considers it indispensable to take account of the eternal laws of development by admitting the possibility of a revision by mutual consent. The German Government sees in the possibility of a regular development of contracts one of the elements of a guarantee of peace. It sees, on the other hand, in the prevention *a priori* of such possibility a grave risk of future explosions."

What may be called the centre of gravity of multilateral treaties should, from the German point of view, be sought, not in an automatic obligation to render military assistance in the event of war, but in the obligation of *non-aggression* and in the duty incumbent on all Powers interested in any given conflict to resort to an exchange of views with the aim of settling the difficulties.

Obligations of this sort might become efficient guarantees of peace without creating the danger of complications inherent to certain pacts of assistance (such as the so-called East European pact) proposed by certain Powers.

Regarding another principle enunciated at Geneva, that of the indivisibility of peace, Hitler considers it regrettable that this principle should form the pretext for theories which, in the Chancellor's view, "are less calculated to serve the cause of collective security than that of collective preparation for war, whether such preparation be voluntary or involuntary. The World War ought to furnish us with a serious warning in this respect."

Hitler was alluding to certain military alliances which, according to him, were contrary to the spirit of the League Covenant, since the latter imposes a duty of mutual assistance on each individual member State solely on condition that the State in question shall submit to the control of the League. In the speech cited above Hitler continued:—

"I do not believe that Europe could be exposed a second time to such a catastrophe without the direst effects But such a catastrophe could be facilitated by the fact that a network of international obligations diminishes the possibility of localising small conflicts and increases the danger that numerous States and groups of States may be involved in a dispute

We believe that we are thereby serving the cause of peace better, for the necessary sentiment of responsibility of each individual State can only be enhanced if it does not know beforehand that it will be backed, in the event of a conflict arising, by powerful military alliances "

From the National Socialist point of view, the theory of the indivisibility of peace affords the great Powers the possibility of intervening in all political events the world over from the standpoint of their own egotistical interests under the pretext of "collective security "

Hence Germany sees no guarantee of peace in uncontrollable collective pacts Germany, in the words of Ambassador von Ribbentrop, considers that the pompous phrases "indivisibility of peace" and "collective security" mean in reality "indivisibility of war" and "collective insecurity "

The Results Obtained

1933

The first important event in this year was Germany's adhesion to the *Four-Powers Pact* proposed by Signor Mussolini Already on March 21, Hitler described it as "a farreaching and farsighted attempt to assure the peaceful and consistent evolution of European policy " The pact was signed at Rome on June 7 by the four Powers France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy It included in its scope all questions concerning them, as well as all questions of economic or general interest for Europe The Contracting Powers undertook to concentrate all their efforts to develop, within the framework of the League of Nations, a policy of active collaboration between all States in view of the maintenance of peace and in order to ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference With regard to the League Covenant—particularly Article X (respect for the territorial integrity and the political independence of all member States), Article XV (sanctions), and Article XIX (revision of treaties)—the four Powers declared their intention of examining among themselves, subject to any decisions which might be taken by the competent organs of the League, all proposals relating to methods and proceedings calculated to increase the efficacy of the said articles

Germany's participation in this pact, which was concluded for a term of ten years, was rendered particularly significant by the fact that for the first time since the World War she was invited to sign an international convention in her capacity of Great Power possessing equal rights with all other Powers and without being obliged to make any concessions as a condition of the privilege of being admitted to participate in the agreement Moreover, the pact, by its reference to Article XIX of the Covenant, opened out the possibility of

a revision of certain clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, the application of which experience had shown to be inapplicable.

Political circles in Germany were rightly satisfied with the result, although they stressed that the value of this new diplomatic document necessarily depended on future negotiations. They also entertained the hope that France would find in the Four-Powers Pact—following as it did the agreements of Geneva, Locarno, and Paris—a new guarantee of security which would permit of her gradual disarmament.

The German Government was convinced of having furnished a proof of its sincere love of peace precisely at a moment when public opinion outside Germany attributed sinister and bellicose intentions to Hitler. In the opinion of German political circles, Germany proved by signing the Four-Powers Pact her readiness to cooperate in the work of preserving European peace and also to contribute to the economic reconstruction of Europe.

At the same time, the Four-Powers Pact afforded the National Socialist Government the possibility of a *rapprochement* with Rome, a policy eventually destined to lead to the creation of the Berlin-Rome axis. This policy of *rapprochement between the two authoritarian States has been a continuous one* and was only temporarily interrupted in 1934/5 owing to incidents in Austria.

The visit of General Göring to Rome was followed by that of Vice-Chancellor von Papen, and opportunities were furnished for conversations with the Vatican. The result was the conclusion of the Concordat on July 20. Under its terms the Reich guaranteed to the Catholic Church full liberty of conscience and public worship. It recognised the right of the Church to the independent administration of her own affairs within the limits of existing legislation, and also the right to enact regulations binding on members of the Catholic community.

This diplomatic success appeared all the more remarkable since the National Socialist movement had in former days been condemned by several German Bishops, who had gone so far as to excommunicate professed National Socialists in their respective dioceses. The Concordat was destined to pave the way for a harmonious cooperation between Church and State. Despite a number of serious incidents which occurred subsequently, the Concordat still constitutes the basis of the relations between the State and the Catholic Church in contemporary Germany.

In July the Chairman of the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson, paid visits to Berlin and Munich; and in September Dr. Goebbels attended the plenary assembly of the League. On this occasion Dr. Goebbels delivered a speech to the representatives of the world Press in which he exposed the German point of view and justified Germany's struggle for parity of rights.

"It is in the interest of nobody" (said Dr. Goebbels) "that Germany should be treated as a second-rate nation and that she should be deprived of the possibility of providing for her defence, which is indispensable for her national security. To conclude from this that she desires war is in view of the fact that other countries, far from disarming, are rearming, is to take a view which is as narrow-minded as it is discouraging . . .

Let it be hoped that all men of good will may unite in the noble intention of dissipating the anxieties of the nations and of serving the general welfare As far as Germany is concerned, she is sincerely desirous of contributing to the peace of Europe "

This speech constituted the final warning uttered by the National Socialist Government to the League of Nations before its withdrawal from that institution on October 14, 1933 Both the Chancellor and the Reich Government exposed to the German nation the reasons motivating Germany's withdrawal In a broadcast speech of the same date, Hitler resumed those reasons as follows —

' Inspired by a sincere wish to accomplish the peaceful internal reconstruction of the German nation, and to reorganise its political and economic existence, German Governments, relying on the promise to grant Germany that parity of rights corresponding to her dignity, had declared themselves prepared to enter the League of Nations and to participate in the Disarmament Conference But Germany soon experienced bitter disillusions

Despite her willingness to carry to the farthest possible limits her own disarmament, which had already been practically completed, the other Powers found themselves unable to fulfil the obligation imposed on them by the Peace Treaty The German nation and its Government were constantly humiliated by a persistent refusal to admit that Germany possessed a real parity of rights

After the German claim to parity had been expressly recognised on December 11, 1932, the Reich Government intimated its readiness to resume its participation in the negotiations of the Disarmament Conference Nevertheless the official representatives of the other Powers not only publicly stated that such parity of rights could no longer be granted to Germany under existing circumstances, but also directly informed the German Foreign Office and the German delegates in Geneva of this fact

The German Government sees in this proceeding a discrimination between Germany and other countries as unjustifiable as it is insulting Under these conditions the German Government considers that it is no longer in a position, as representing a nation deprived of its rights and relegated to an inferior level, to take part in negotiations which can only result in a new *Diktat* Whilst again proclaiming its unshakable will to peace, the German Government, in view of demands incompatible with its dignity and its honour, announces with profound regret its decision to abandon the Disarmament Conference The German Government announces at the same time its withdrawal from the League of Nations But it reiterates its unshakable will to peace and affirms its willingness to take its share, outside the League, of all efforts which may be made between the various States with the aim of assuring the peace of Europe "

Four days later the German Government published a memorandum containing the proposal to create a German Army limited to 300,000 men, on condition that the other Powers should not increase their armaments beyond their existing level

Almost unanimously, and for the second time within eight months, the German nation manifested its unreserved approval of the policy of the National Socialist Government, thereby demonstrating to the world that it had recovered its national pride and its full freedom of action

While the world was still under the impression created by the energetic step of the German Government and by the German plebiscite, much attention was

aroused by a brief *communiqué* of November 15, concerning a conversation between Chancellor Hitler and the newly appointed Polish Minister in Berlin, M. Lipsky. It was announced that this conversation regarding the relations between Germany and Poland had confirmed the complete agreement between the Governments of the two countries. All questions interesting the two countries were to form the subject of direct negotiations between their respective Governments. Both Governments, in the interest of European peace, renounced all intention of having recourse to force as a means of settling divergencies.

A few days later Hitler received the French Ambassador, M. François-Poncet, and had a cordial conversation with him on the problems of disarmament and the Saar. On December 11, the Italian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Signor Suvich, arrived in Berlin.

The first year of office of the National Socialist Government was thus characterised by remarkable activity in the domain of foreign affairs with the object of restoring Germany's honour and establishing parity of rights for her.

1934.

From a political point of view, this year was inaugurated, on January 26, by the conclusion of a Pact between Germany and Poland, of which the three principal clauses were as follows:—

1) The two Governments declare their intention to come to a direct understanding on all questions affecting their mutual relations, of whatever nature these questions may be;

2) Should divergencies arise between them which cannot be settled by direct negotiations, the two Governments, in each specific case and on the basis of mutual understanding, will envisage a solution by other peaceful means without, however, excluding the possibility of resorting if need be to the means provided for in such cases by agreements already concluded between them. But under no circumstances will they have recourse to force for the settlement of such divergencies.

3) The guarantee of peace furnished by these fundamental principles will facilitate for both Governments the difficult task of finding solutions, based on a just and equitable adjustment of mutual interests, of political, economic, and cultural problems.

This agreement was accompanied by an economic protocol concerning the suppression of the Customs war between the two countries and the establishment of a basis for their future trading relations.

Four days later Chancellor Hitler, in his speech to the Reichstag, recalled that when he took office the relations between Germany and Poland were extremely unsatisfactory. There had been a danger that the tension between the two countries, the origin of which must be sought in the territorial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, would develop into an hostility which in course of time might become the source of "mutual hereditary enmity."

Hence it was urgently necessary to transform the relations between the two countries in such a manner that both could derive the greatest possible profit

from them Hitler took the occasion to show by this concrete example how divergencies between nations should not exclude the possibility of establishing such mutual relations as are conducive to peace and consequently to the general welfare

According to Hitler, it would invariably be better in such cases to endeavour to find, thanks to a frank and loyal explanation between the two parties, a solution of the problems interesting them both, rather than seek refuge in the arbitration of a third party

This standpoint of the German Government was shared by Marshal Pilsudski, and ultimately found expression in a Treaty which was not only useful to the German and Polish nations, but which also contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of European peace

The Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Colonel Beck, voiced the opinion that with the signing of this treaty a new and happier era in the relations between Poland and Germany had begun It gave him, he said, particular satisfaction to see in this agreement an example of constructive work which contrasted with the constantly increasing pessimism that characterised international relations (See Pict 48)

The German Polish Treaty, which took the whole world by surprise, confirmed Hitler's view that bilateral pacts are preferable to collective agreements

Among other events in 1934 we may mention the agreement reached at Geneva concerning preparatory measures in view of the plebiscite in the Saar scheduled for January 13, 1935, and the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in Venice

1935

Among the numerous political events of this year, which began with the quasi unanimous plebiscite in the Saar, some are deserving of special mention owing to their being peculiarly characteristic of the foreign policy of the Reich

On March 15, the French Chamber passed the Two Years Military Service Act Immediately on receiving the news at his villa at Berchtesgaden, Hitler left by air for Berlin and summoned a Cabinet Council which was held in the afternoon of the next day The Cabinet decided to enact a law "concerning the organisation of the Army" This law consists of only three articles, which, however, possess historic importance They are as follows —

1) Military service is based on compulsory service,
2) The German Army in time of peace, including the Police groups, comprises twelve Army Corps and 36 divisions,
3) Supplementary laws regulating the details of compulsory military service will shortly be submitted by the Minister of War to the Reich Government

By taking this step, Germany recovered her military freedom and re entered the ranks of the military Powers At the same time she broke the strongest fetter forged by the Treaty of Versailles (See Pict 44)

The significance of the decision thus taken was explained to the German nation and the world in a manifesto issued by the German Government It was

in vain that the other European Powers protested, and that the League of Nations adopted a resolution stating that Germany had violated her obligations towards the community of nations The German Government, in its turn, protested against this resolution of the League which it regarded as a further discrimination between Germany and other countries, and it denied to the members of the League the right to sit in judgment upon Germany

In the meantime the British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, accompanied by the Lord Privy Seal, Mr Anthony Eden, paid a visit to Berlin A joint *communique* issued at the termination of this visit affirmed that "a complete elucidation of the views held on either side" had resulted from the conversations The *communique* further stressed that "both Governments pursued the common aim of assuring and consolidating the peace of Europe by encouraging international cooperation "

In the course of these conversations Chancellor Hitler exposed the German view of the scheme of an East European pact proposed by the French Foreign Minister M *Louis Barthou, a scheme favoured by Sir John Simon The scheme* in question provided for a pact of the five East European Powers—namely, Russia, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Balkan States—with the aim of furnishing a mutual guarantee for the inviolability of their respective frontiers, and for a corresponding pact between France, Germany, and Russia to come mutually to each other's assistance against any "aggressor"

The Chancellor declined to adhere to a pact which would entail automatically an obligation of military assistance He declared that he saw in such a pact a menace to peace rather than a guarantee of peace For the first time Hitler also raised the questions, during these conversations, of the restoration of the former German colonies and of a naval agreement with Great Britain (See *Pict* 47)

On May 21, in his previously mentioned speech to the Reichstag, Hitler enumerated the following thirteen points destined in his opinion to form the basis of a comprehensive peace proposal —

1) No return to Geneva without parity of rights
2) Revision of treaties by means of peaceful understanding
3) No treaties considered impossible to carry out shall be signed
4) A normal evolution of treaties must be rendered possible
5) No new attempt to organise European cooperation in the shape of unilateral decisions
6) Germany is prepared on principle to conclude non aggression pacts
7) Germany is prepared to complete the Locarno Pact by a pact relating to aviation
8) Germany is prepared to make known the extent of her military reorganisation
9) Germany is prepared to accept a limitation of armaments
10) Suppression of all arms destined for the purpose of aggression
11) Limitation of the calibre of artillery guns
12) A systematic effort to neutralise public opinion
13) Elucidation of the theory of interference in the internal affairs of foreign States

Hitler concluded by saying —

"We all know how many millions of bold and valiant adversaries we had to face during the World War History will surely testify that the Germans have less understood the art of living a reasonable life than the art of bravely laying down their lives I cannot better terminate my speech to you, my comrades, than by reiterating our unshakable faith in the cause of peace He who would set alight the torch of war in Europe can only desire chaos We, however, are firmly convinced that our era far from witnessing the ruin of Western civilisation will witness its rebirth It is our proud hope and our steadfast belief that Germany will make an imperishable contribution to this great task'

Four days later the Reich Government addressed to the signatories of the Locarno Pact a memorandum setting forth the incompatibility of the said Pact with the Franco Russian Pact of May 9, 1935 The Reich Government maintained that the Locarno Pact could not be modified by any of its signatories by a treaty with a third party

The German Government further stressed that Article I of the Franco-Russian Pact stipulated that mutual assistance should be rendered independently of any recommendation by the Council of the League of Nations or of any unanimous decision of the League itself

Pourparlers in view of a Naval Agreement between Great Britain and Germany were commenced in June and concluded on the eighteenth of that month An exchange of notes defined the points in which agreement had been reached

The Anglo German Naval Convention provided that the strength of the German fleet should be in the proportion of 35 100 of that of the British fleet This proportion will not be affected by the naval programme of other countries, but in the case of exceptional measures regarding naval constructions Germany is entitled to request Great Britain to reexamine the situation

Under the terms of the Convention the British and German Governments consented to apply the aforesaid proportion to each category of warships, both Governments declaring themselves in favour of this system of a limitation of naval armaments—a system which provides a maximum of tonnage and a maximum of calibre for *each category of vessels*

As regards submarines, the Convention accorded Germany the fundamental right to possess 100% of the submarine tonnage of the British Commonwealth, at the same time Germany undertook that the total tonnage of her submarines should never exceed 45% of that of the British fleet If, owing to extraordinary circumstances, the German Government should deem it necessary to extend this limit, Germany would be obliged to inform the British Government of the fact and to enter on a friendly discussion on the subject

The conclusion of this naval agreement, signed on behalf of the Reich by Ambassador von Ribbentrop, had, on the one hand, the effect of circumscribing the possibilities of the development of the German Navy, but, on the other, it presented undeniable advantages for Hitler's foreign policy, advantages which may be summarised as follows —

1) A formal recognition of the legality of Germany's rearmament was thereby obtained for the first time, and any protests by third Powers were consequently rendered inoperative;

2) suspicion of a new naval rivalry between Germany and Great Britain, which was one of the main causes of the World War, was dissipated;

3) a new proof had been afforded to the world that direct bilateral agreements are easier to realise than collective pacts;

4) a concrete example had been furnished of a treaty concluded outside the framework of the League of Nations concerning the limitation of armaments—a treaty which had appreciably contributed to the stabilisation of peace.

Although the Anglo-German Naval Convention incontestably imposed certain sacrifices on the Reich, the German nation understood the necessity of those sacrifices which it readily accepted in the interest of friendly relations between the two countries. The necessity of cordial relations between London and Berlin had, moreover, been clearly exposed by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf* and continues to form one of the bases of his foreign policy.

1936.

On February 27, the French Chamber ratified the Franco-Russian Pact by 353 votes to 164. On March 7 German troops occupied the demilitarised Rhineland zone, and Germany informed the signatories of the Locarno Pact—i. e. France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain—that in consequence of the ratification in question "Germany had reestablished, conformably with the primordial right of a nation to the security of its frontiers and the maintenance of its defence, the full and complete sovereignty of the Reich in the demilitarised Rhenish zone." (See Picts. 45, 46.)

The memorandum remitted by the German Government to the signatories of the Locarno Pact emphasized that the pact concluded between Paris and Moscow had practically resulted in putting an end to the Locarno agreement. Hence Germany did not consider herself bound any longer to that agreement. The memorandum added that the Franco-Russian Pact had meanwhile been completed by a parallel treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

In order to prevent any misinterpretations of its intentions and of the purely defensive nature of the measures taken by it; in order, further, to confirm again its immutable aspiration towards a real pacification of Europe; the German Government declared itself prepared to submit the following proposals destined to ensure lasting peace in Europe:—

1) Mutual delimitation of a demilitarised zone between France and Germany;
2) conclusion for a period of 25 years of a pact of non-aggression between Germany, France and Belgium;
3) guarantee of this pact by Great Britain and Italy;
4) the Netherlands to participate in this pact;
5) conclusion of an air pact between the Western Powers;

regard to Ethiopia had also been effected in connection with Germany's recognition of the new Italian Empire[1]

Count Ciano took part in a review of the Hitler Youth in which the creation of an Italo German Institute for the Leadership of Youth with headquarters in Rome and Berlin was announced

Count Ciano's journey was the starting-point for a number of visits paid each other reciprocally by prominent personalities in the two countries

In his speech in Milan on November 1, Mussolini explained that "the vertical line Berlin Rome is not a dividing line, but an axis to which all European States animated by the will to collaboration and peace can adhere"

A wish expressed by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf* was thus fulfilled—namely, his wish to realise an *entente cordiale* with Italy

November was marked by three important events in regard to German policy The first was the reestablishment of the supremacy of the Reich over the German rivers

On November 15, the German Foreign Office addressed a Note to the Governments which under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were represented on the International River Commission for the supervision of the Rhine, the Danube, the Elbe, and the Oder The Note stated that the provisions of the Treaty in question were contrary to the notion of parity of rights as regarded inland shipping and were detrimental to the interests of Germany Since Germany's efforts to modify this intolerable situation had hitherto proved unsuccesful the German Government considered itself unable to admit the existing situation any longer Hence the German Government declared its inability to recognise the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles regarding the German inland waterways and the administration of the Kiel Canal At the same time the German Government denounced the agreement signed on May 4, relating to shipping on the Rhine

Germany thus ceased to collaborate with the Commission for surveying traffic on German rivers created by the Treaty of Versailles Henceforth, by the decision of the German Government, navigation on the German inland waterways was open to all States without distinction, on condition of reciprocity

A second important event was the visit to Berlin of the Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr Guido Schmidt, where he had lengthy conversations with Baron von Neurath and Chancellor Hitler, in the course of

[1] The foundation of the Società *Anonima Mineraria Africa Orientale Italiana* (Italian East African Mining Company) in Milan with a capital of 50 million lire with powers to increase to 200 million lire was announced in January 1937 The aim of the newly founded company was the exploitation of the treasures of the soil of Ethiopia Germany is largely interested in this undertaking and her investors have a preferential right of 25% on all profits of the company The company intends especially to exploit the districts of Wollega and West and East Harrar, which are reputed rich in coal iron copper and lead The technical work of this new enterprise will be directed by the well known German geologist Prof Leo von zur Mühlen

which political, economic, and cultural problems were discussed One of the results was the development of the commercial relations between the two countries, and it was evidenced on this occasion that the agreement of July 11 furnished the opportunity of fruitful cooperation in many domains

The third important event of the year was the agreement concluded on November 25 in Berlin between the Japanese Ambassador and Ambassador von Ribbentrop against the Communist International Under the terms of this agreement both States having recognised 1) that the aim of the Communist International is the dismemberment and disintegration of all existing States, further, 2) that an intervention by the Comintern in the internal conditions of their respective nations would not only menace the peace and welfare of the latter, but also the peace and welfare of the world in general the two States in question have resolved to inform each other mutually concerning the activ ities of the Communist International and concerning the necessary defensive measures against such activities, which must be taken in close cooperation between Germany and Japan Other States, whose internal peace may appear menaced by the work of systematic disintegration undertaken by the Communist International, are invited to participate in the aforesaid convention the duration of which is fixed for a period of five years

A supplementary clause provided for the constitution of a Permanent Two Powers Commission between the two signatories of the treaty The clause in question also provided for severe measures to be taken against all persons found guilty of working either directly or indirectly for the interests of the Third International

The theories expressed by Chancellor Hitler and other speakers two months previously on the occasion of the annual congress of the National Socialist Party in Nurnberg thus found their first practical application

Among other noteworthy occurrences in this year should be mentioned the "Convention relating to the Exchange of Goods and Payments with Lithuania," concluded on August 5, and which was contracted with the aim of reducing the tension between the two countries and improving their political relations The same peaceful policy of Germany towards all neighbouring States found its expression in offers of guarantees of neutrality to Belgium, Holland, Luxem burg, and Switzerland

1937

The year began with the journey of the Prussian Premier General Göring to Italy On this occasion General Göring was accorded an audience by the King and had several conversations with Mussolini and Count Ciano on the subject of pressing international problems, especially of that presented by the civil war in Spain In a discussion in Capri with representatives of the Press General Göring stated that the Berlin-Rome axis would prove a valuable instrument in the consolidation of peace General Goering added that Germany wished to contribute to strengthen European peace, which was again jeopardised

Committee for the Promotion of Cultural Relations between Germany and Austria, whose formation had been planned on the occasion of the visit of Dr Schmidt to Berlin, should take up its activities on February 25th

Shortly after this, the Swiss Federal President announced to the Federal Parliament that Ex President Schulthess had, with his knowledge and consent, been received by Chancellor Hitler whilst on a private visit to Germany After stressing his love of peace, Chancellor Hitler had stated that the existence of Switzerland was a European necessity He had not made special reference to Switzerland in his speech of January 30th in connection with the declaration of neutrality in respect of Belgium and Holland for the simple reason that the neutrality of Switzerland had in no way been questioned by the powers and by Germany The inviolability and neutrality of Switzerland will be at any time, and come what may, respected by Germany The Chancellor then authorized Schulthess to inform the Swiss government and the Swiss people of this unequivocal and solemn declaration The Swiss Parliament expressed its gratification at receiving this declaration

The Spring of 1937 was notable for a series of events which bore the character of an attempt to improve international relations

In the first place, Dr Rust, German minister for Education, left for Greece to inaugurate the excavations at Olympia made possible by the Fuhrer's appropriations as announced on the occasion of the Olympic Games in Berlin Later on, Dr Schacht visited Brussels to return the visit paid by Governor of the Belgian National Bank to Berlin He was received on this occasion by King Leopold Interviewed by newspaper correspondents, Dr Schacht expressed the view that a reorganziation of the trade relations between the various countries would depend solely upon whether these relations could be freed from political prejudices As nobody wanted war, an understanding of this sort was now possible German re armament did not constitute a stumbling block in the way of this understanding on the contrary, it would help to make it possible seeing that Germany was not respected as long as it was powerless There followed the visit to Germany of Signor Ricci, Italian Youth Leader He came to study the organization of the German youth movement An important visit was that of Field Marshal Hermann Goring to Rome, where he was received by the Duce

According to an official pronouncement, the conversations which Baron von Neurath had in Rome with Mussolini and Count Ciano served to reinforce the determination of both governments to pursue a common policy on the basis of the Italo German protocols of October 1936 and to continue in future to strive for a far reaching collaboration with other powers Later on, Baron von Neurath paid visits to Belgrade, Sofia and Budapest with the object of strengthening and deepening the good relations existing between the Reich and these countries

It is worth noting that, in the meantime, the Belgian Foreign Minister had declared that his country was conscious of the importance of the willingness of the German Chancellor to recognize and guarantee the neutrality of Belgium

It had served to indicate possibilities which the Belgian Government could not afford to ignore.

On May 24th, four Italian warships which were lying at anchor in Palma de Mallorca, were damaged by bombs dropped by aeroplanes belonging to the Valencia government. Two days later, an aerial bomb hit the Italian cruiser "Quarto", killing six officers and wounding several others. On May 29th, the German battleship "Deutschland" which had put in at Ibiza, was likewise hit by bombs dropped by machines sent out by the Valencia government.

A statement broadcast by the German Government said that the warship was in the service of the international sea control but was off duty at the time of the outrage. This accounts for the fact that the crew was assembled aft in the unprotected mess-rooms. A bomb hit the mess-room, killing twenty of the ratings and wounding seventy-three others. Not a single shot was fired at the attacking aeroplanes. The declaration then went on to say that the Valencia government had twice been warned by the Non-intervention Commission and by the German Government of the danger of carrying out aerial attacks on warships acting in the service of the International Control.

As a reprisal for the "Deutschland" outrage, the German naval forces shelled the fortified port of Almeria. After the dockyards had been destroyed and the enemy batteries silenced, the action was terminated and the affair considered settled. Further German naval units were sent to reinforce the German naval forces stationed in Spanish waters.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, who was at that time German ambassador in London, handed in to the Non-intervention Committee a note in which the outrage was described as another link in a chain of similar incidents whereby, at the beginning of April red warships had threatened the battleship "Graf Spee" and, on May 11th, the cruiser "Leipzig." The German Government has therefore decided to withdraw from the Control System and from the deliberations of the Non-intervention Committee until full assurances are forthcoming against the repetition of incidents of this sort. In the meantime, the German warships have been ordered to fire upon every Spanish aeroplane or warship that approach them.

In this way, Adolf Hitler saved German dignity in the face of this incident. He also saved the prestige of the International Forces operating in Spanish waters.

The Anglo-German quantitative Naval Agreement of 1935 provided for agreements of a qualitative character only in the event of an understanding being reaching in this matter between Great Britain, France, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. As an agreement of this kind had now been concluded, a further Anglo-German Naval Agreement was signed. It will remain in force until December 31st, 1942.

A safeguarding clause provides for the revision of the treaty in the face of special circumstances. Furthermore, provision has been made for the holding of discussions with regard to a prolongation or revision of the treaty in the third

quarter of the year 1940 The treaty establishes a formula for determining when battleships, aircraft carriers, light surface craft, submarines and small war vessels should be considered in need of replacement Moreover it establishes the following maximum values in a qualitative sense (size of ship and calibre)

For battleships 35,000 tons and 40 6 cm guns For aircraft carriers 23,000 tons and 15 5 cm guns For light surface craft, namely, for big cruisers 10,000 tons and 20 cm guns, for small cruisers, 8,000 tons and 15 5 cm guns and for a further subdivision (destroyers, flottilla leaders) 3,000 tons and 15 5 cm guns Furthermore, for submarines 2 000 tons and 13 cm guns It is agreed to discontinue the building of big cruisers from now until January 1st, 1947 Should, however, the Soviet Union carry out its intention of building such cruisers during this period, this respite from building may be curtailed It is expressly stated that Germany cannot be held responsible for such an eventuality It is also agreed that there should be an exchange of information between the contracting parties with regard to building plans A supplementary agreement in the form of a declaration contains provisions regarding the application of the 35 to 100 strength relation of the German and British navies to the specific categories of vessels and the possibility of the transfer of tonnage from one category of ships to another, as well as special stipulations concerning the replacement of those German warships built in accordance with the provisions of the Versailles Treaty An exchange of notes embodied in the agreement as a third section deals with the possibility, already mentioned, of curtailing the building respite for large cruisers

The German Official News Agency announced at the beginning of September that in the second half of the month the Duce would visit Germany at the invitation of the Fuhrer This was universally regarded as an event of out standing importance The meeting was intended to reaffirm the close ideolo gical ties uniting the revolutionary movements which had brought about a complete transformation and reorganization of social and state life in both countries

The Italian Chief of State arrived in Germany accompanied by Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Starace, Minister and Party Secretary, Signor Alfieri, Minister for Propaganda, and a large suite He was welcomed at the Austro German frontier by Rudolf Hess, Fuhrer's Deputy, who accompanied him to Munich After being received by Chancellor Hitler, the Duce deposited a wreath in the Temple of Honour on the Königlichen Platz and then paid visits to the Administrative Offices of the National Socialist Party and to the Führerhaus where he was introduced to leading Party members (see Picts 51 to 62)

Following the parade organized by the Party and a visit to the House of German Art, Mussolini left Munich in company of the Fuhrer for the purpose of attending the German Army Manoeuvres in North Germany Prior to leaving Munich, Mussolini and Hitler had several lengthy conversations Mussolini conferred upon Hitler the title of Honorary Corporal of the Fascist Militia, which is the highest title awarded by the Fascist Party Hitler, for his part, awarded the

Duce the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the German Eagle as well as the Golden Badge of the National Socialist Party, hitherto worn only by the Führer himself.

The appointment of Hitler as Honorary Corporal of the Fascist Militia was explained as follows: "Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the German People, gave Germany back its faith in its new greatness. The restorer of state, social and political order, he leads the German nation with firm hand towards the fulfilment of its high mission. As upholder and defender of European civilization against every attempt at disruption, he gave to Italy, at a period of its struggle, testimony of his loyal solidarity and friendship."

At the conclusion of the German Army manoeuvres, Führer and Duce departed for Essen for an inspection of the Krupp Works. Upon his return to Berlin, the Duce made a triumphal entry into the gaily decorated German capital. The day was declared a general holiday.

A gala reception was given in the Reich Chancellery on the evening of the same day. In his toast, Adolf Hitler paid high tribute to his guest, referring to him as the creator of Fascist Italy and the founder of a new Imperium:

"On your journey through Germany you will have appreciated from the great enthusiasm with which you were received by all classes of the German nation that your visit meant more to us than a merely diplomatic event and a purely conventional meeting. At a time in which the world is full of tensions and alarming confusions, in which the most dangerous elements attempt to attack and destroy the civilisation of Europe, Germany and Italy have found themselves in sincere friendship and common political cooperation. This cooperation rests not only on the same indestructible will to live and assert themselves, but, in addition, on related political ideals which we are convinced are a basis of that internal strength and firmness of our States. These common fundamental political principles constitute a tie binding our peoples, and there operates in the same direction the fact that in the real vital interests of Italy and Germany there are no factors separating them, but only factors of a complementary or unifying nature. We believe that the safeguarding of peace and of the most precious flowers of European civilisation are not to be attained by the creation of a bloc directed against other European States. We are, on the contrary, convinced that through our common work we serve best not only the interests of our two countries but, in addition, the objective of a general international understanding, which lies close to our hearts. In this spirit, Germany and Italy will examine and deal side by side with the political tasks, so as to oppose every attempt to separate the two nations or even play one off against the other."

In his reply, Mussolini said that since he had been on German soil he had felt everywhere around him the spiritual atmosphere of a great, friendly people. He greeted the Führer as the man who had restored to the German nation the consciousness of its greatness, as the re-creator of the nation with which Fascist Italy is allied by so many ties of spirit and achievement. The Fascist and the National Socialist revolution were and are creative revolutions. Germany and Italy have created on their soil great works of culture and progress. New and not less great works will rise in the future.

On the second day of his sojourn in Berlin, Mussolini visited the Armoury, Potsdam and the headquarters of the Berlin Fascio He paid a visit to Field marshal Goring at Karin Hall in the Schorfheide Later in the day, a big demonstration was held on the Reichs Sports Field It was attended by about a million persons, whilst a further two millions lined the route

Adolf Hitler, who spoke first, said that the deepest significance of this demonstration of peoples was the sincere wish of their countries to guarantee that peace which was not the reward of a cowardly abdication but the result of a responsible securing of their natural, spiritual and moral welfare as well as of their cultural substance and values In this way they were serving not only their own interests but those of all Europe No nation can desire peace more than Germany but no people have learned to know better the fearful results of weak confidence than ours The ideals of liberalism and democracy had not saved the German nation from the worst kinds of political rape In that time of bitter trial Italy, and especially Fascist Italy, did not join in the humiliations imposed upon Germany Italy showed in those years understanding for the claims to equality of a great nation It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction that an hour has come in which Germany could remember that and has remembered it Out of the similar nature of the Fascist and National Socialist revolutions there is arising today not only a community of views but of action Fascist Italy through the genius and work of one creative man has become a new Empire The German Empire had also regained its military strength The power of these two Empires forms today the strongest guarantee for the safeguarding of a Europe which still *possesses a sense* of its cultural mission and does not intend to fall a prey to destructive elements Every attempt to divide such a unity of peoples by playing off one against the other, by casting suspicions or alleging untrue aims, will fail before the wish of the 115,000,000 taking part in this demonstration, as also before the wills of the two leading men

Mussolini then addressed the gathering He said that his visit should not be measured by the same standard as the usual diplomatic political visits The fact that he had come to Germany today did not mean that he would be travelling somewhere else tomorrow He had come not merely as the head of the Italian government but above all in his capacity as the head of a national revolution, which thereby wishes to give a proof of its close connection with the German revolution The course of both revolutions may have been different, but the goal they had wished to reach and have reached is the same the unity and greatness of the nation

There were no secret intentions hidden behind his visit Nothing would be planned in Berlin to divide a Europe which is already divided enough The solemn confirmation of the fact and stability of the Berlin Rome axis was not directed against other States National Socialists and Fascists wanted peace and are always ready to work for peace, a real, fruitful peace which does not silently ignore, but solves the questions arising from the life of the peoples To the whole world, which is asking tensely what the result of this meeting will be, war or peace, he could answer with a loud voice Peace Germany and Italy follow the

same goal in the sphere of economic autarchy Without economic independence the political independence of a nation is doubtful, and a nation of great military power may become the victim of an economic blockade The community of ideas in Germany and Italy had found expression in the struggle against the Third International, the modern form of darkest Byzantinian arbitrary force After the war, Fascism fought with the utmost energy this form of human degeneracy, fought it with word and weapon The same course has been adopted towards Spain, where thousands of Italian volunteers have fallen to save European culture, the culture which may experience a re birth when it turns its back upon the false, lying gods of Geneva and Moscow, and turns towards the luminous truths of the German and Italian revolutions

This danger was experienced in all its directness when 52 nations assembled at Geneva decided upon criminal economic sanctions Germany did not take part in the sanctions, despite all inducements Italy will never forget that That is the point at which, for the first time, the existence of a necessary cooperation between National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy appeared What the world now knows as the Rome Berlin axis arose in the autumn of 1935, and has worked in the first two years for the ever stronger rapprochement of the two peoples to each other, as for the growing political strengthening of the peace of Europe

He said that he did not know when Europe would awaken, for secret, but to him well enough known, forces are at work to turn a civil war into a world conflagration What is important is that Italy and Germany—who in human beings make the immense mass of 115,000,000—stand together in a single unshatterable determination

On September 29th, a big military parade was held in Berlin before the Duce and the Fuhrer There took part in it 590 officers, 13,100 non commissioned officers and men, 1,890 horses 145 horse drawn vehicles, 613 motorised vehicles and 144 motor bicycles On the same day, Mussolini concluded his three day visit to Berlin He was accompanied to the Reich frontier by the Fuhrer's Deputy As the German News Agency announced at the time, the Duce invited the Fuhrer to make a return visit to Italy This invitation was gladly accepted

On November 6th, the German, Italian and Japanese Governments signed in Rome a protocol in which they expressed their considered opinion that the Communist International had become a dangerous menace to civilised world in the East and in the West, as it disturbed and disrupted peace everywhere, and that this menace could be faced and overcome only through the close collaboration of all those countries interested in the preservation of peace and order In view of the fact that Italy, which has combatted this danger ever since the beginning of the Fascist regime and has extirpated all influences of the Communist International in its own territory, had now decided to face the common enemy side by side with Germany and Japan, who are likewise inspired by the desire to defend themselves from Communist International, the three governments are agreed that, in accordance with Article II of the Agreement of

November 25th, 1936 between Germany and Japan, that Italy should join this agreement

Lord Halifax, Lord President of the Privy Council, arrived in Berlin on November 17th According to an official statement, it was a private journey with the object of visiting the Hunting Exhibition On the first day of his visit, however, Lord Halifax had opportunity for a lengthy conversation with Baron von Neurath, who was then still in charge of the German Foreign Office Later on, Lord Halifax was received by the Fuhrer at Obersalzberg, where in a talk lasting five hours, problems were discussed affecting Germany and Britain Prior to his return to London, Lord Halifax declared that although he had nothing to say about the subject of his talks, these had been frank, open and informal He hoped, he said, that the door to a clarification of the atmosphere between Germany and Britain had been slightly opened He mentioned the cordiality and friendliness of his reception in Germany, especially by the Fuhrer He was glad to have had the opportunity of establishing contact with the leading men of Germany (see Pict 49)

Dr von Daranyi, Hungarian Prime minister, and Dr von Kanya, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Berlin on November 21st as the guests of the German Government On the occasion of the official reception in the Presidential Palace in the Wilhelm Strasse, Baron von Neurath recalled the traditional friendship existing between Germany and Hungary Both countries had passed through years of suffering and were now engaged in the laborious task of national reconstruction The Third Reich was following, he said, the powerful resurgence of the Hungarian nation with the warmest sympathy In the future, as in the past, German settlers in Hungary who had long since become loyal Hungarian citizens would contribute part towards consolidating this friendship The unshakeable relationship of mutual trust, now existing between the two countries, offered a warrant for the political future In his reply, Premier von Daranyi expressed his admiration for the infectious virility displayed by the German people upon being liberated from their fetters He recorded his satisfaction at the thought that Hungary would continue, by virtue of common interests, to live in friendly relations with Germany This friendship, which had always served to promote peace and which had been consolidated through the World War, would continue to be directed towards the attainment of pacific ends (see Pict 50)

On a motion introduced by the Duce himself, the Grand Fascist Council unanimously decided on December 11th on the immediate withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations An official German pronouncement on this move declared that Germany had taken note of this step with the fullest understanding and warmest sympathy The League of Nations had thereby received its deserts for the political blunders it had committed It had never proved itself capable of making a useful contribution towards the surmounting of current problems of international politics It had invariably exerted a harmful even dangerous, influence upon the entire political development Beneath the cloak of pre-

conceived ideals it had become more and more a federation serving the interests of those who had profitted by the Versailles arrangement. The complete failure of the League of Nations has today become a fact which needs no further evidence or explanation. Even the smaller countries have brought themselves to renounce all hope in the League of Nations upon realising that the Geneva policy of collective security had, in truth, led to a collective insecurity. It is now only from Moscow that one hears an avowal of belief in the Geneva ideals. Those big powers which have remained in Geneva have, however, no longer the right to represent the League of Nations as being the supreme organ of international cooperation. The German Government is convinced that the political system of Geneva had not only ended in abortion but had become a harmful influence. For this reason, a return of Germany to the League of Nations would never more come into consideration.

This solemn declaration, which put an abrupt end to the hopes of many adherents of the Geneva League, supplied the curtain to what, from a diplomatic viewpoint, was a very eventful year and the herald of happenings of supreme importance.

1938 (down to the Führer's visit to Italy).

The visits of foreign statesmen to Germany continued to remain the order of the day. In the middle of January, Colonel Beck, Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, broke his journey to Geneva at Berlin where he spent a few days. He was received by the Fuhrer and also took this opportunity to conduct an exchange of views with Baron von Neurath and other leading German personages.

There followed the visit of M. Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He had a series of political conversations with the Chief of the Foreign Office as well as with General Göring and the Chancellor himself. It was announced subsequently that these talks had been conducted in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and with complete understanding on both sides of the reciprocal viewpoints, whereby it was re-affirmed that the preliminary conditions are given for an enduring friendship and a collaboration in all domains in the interest of European appeasement. Both sides pledge themselves to promote in every way the favourable development of German-Yugoslav relations. As regards press relations, it was fully agreed that the press in either country should devote itself to a greater extent than in the past to the task of fostering the good, friendly relations existing between the two countries. Finally, with the object of dealing, under State guidance, with all matters relating to the timber trade between Germany and Yugoslavia, it was decided to form a joint Forestry and Agricultural Committee composed of experts from both countries and entrusted with the task of fostering relations in this domain.

With the object of being able to inform the Reichstag of important measures and events which had not yet been fully materialised, Adolf Hitler refrained from making his traditional review of the situation on the occasion of the anniversary

of the advent of National Socialism to power. In the early part of February, Baron von Neurath was, at his own request, relieved of his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs and, at the same time, appointed Chief of the Privy Cabinet Council, retaining the title of a Cabinet Minister. The title "Minister without Portfolio" has been definitely dropped. In a letter addressed to him on this occasion, the Fuhrer intimated that he was unable to comply with his request to be permitted to go into retirement as his advice and insight had become indispensable to Adolf Hitler. His appointment as President of the Privy Cabinet Council had been made in order to retain his services as an adviser in the direction of the affairs of State.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, hitherto German Ambassador in London, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in succession to Baron von Neurath.

The deliberations of the Privy Cabinet Council, which has thus been formed to advise on matters of Foreign Policy, are conducted by Dr. Lammers, Reich Minister and Chief of the German Chancellery. Members of the Privy Council are: Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Field Marshal Goring, Rudolf Hess, the Fuhrer's Deputy, Dr. Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, Dr. Lammers, Chief of the German Chancellery, General von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-chief of the German Army, General-Admiral Raeder, Commander-in-chief of the German Navy, General Keitel, Chief of the Supreme Army Command.

Adolf Hitler made further sweeping changes in that he ordered the recall of the German ambassadors in Rome, Tokio and Vienna. These three members of the German diplomatic service, Herr von Hassell, Herr von Dirksen and Herr von Papen were retained for further disposal of the foreign Office.

On the same day, Field Marshal von Blomberg resigned his position as German War Minister and Commander-in-chief of the Army, for reasons of health. In a letter addressed to him, the Fuhrer recalled that General von Blomberg, as the first officer of the New Reich, took the oath of allegiance to the National Socialist régime on January 30th, 1933 and had since then carried out the remarkable work of completing the entire military re-organisation of Germany's Armed Forces. Chancellor Hitler expressed his profound gratitude for the services rendered by General von Blomberg.

At the same time, the Fuhrer decreed that the entire armed forces of Germany shall from now onwards be placed under his direct personal control. The former Military Office of the Minister of War comes under the direct control of Chancellor Hitler as his own Military Staff whilst continuing to act in its capacity as "Supreme Command of the Armed Forces." Head of this Staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces is General Keitel, formerly Chief of the Military Office. His title becomes Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces and he has the rank of a Cabinet Minister. The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces also attends to the affairs of the German Ministry of Defence, and the Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces exercises on behalf of the Führer those powers formerly held by the German Minister for Defence. The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces is entrusted with the task of carrying

out, in accordance with the directives of Adolf Hitler, the unified preparation of national defence in all domains.

General von Fritsch, who prior to these changes had held the post of Commander-in-chief of the German Army, also retired for reasons of health. The Fuhrer wrote him a letter thanking him for the outstanding services rendered in re-organizing the German Army. A successor was appointed in General von Brauchitsch, formerly in command of the Fourth Army Group. The Commander-in-chief of the German Air Force, General Göring was at the same time given the rank of Field Marshal.

These sweeping changes of a political and military character, together with the re-organisation of the German Ministry for Economic Affairs, were for the most part completely misunderstood or misinterpreted abroad. Actually, two palpable facts emerge from these changes: a greater share of responsibility in the conduct of the affairs of the nation devolves upon the Party, and, secondly, a stronger concentration of the Wehrmacht and economic policy in the hands of the Fuhrer. This has led to a strengthening of the national unity, a tendency which, incidentally, has made itself apparent in several other countries.

Before turning our attention to the events which resulted in the re-incorporation of Austria into the German Reich, it seems to me necessary to deal with another important happening, namely, the journey of Adolf Hitler to Italy in response to an invitation from the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia and to return the visit made by Mussolini to Germany (see Picts. 75 to 84).

The Fuhrer, accompanied by a big entourage which included Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, Rudolf Hess, Dr. Goebbels, Dr. Frank, Dr. Lammers, Dr. Messner, General Keitel, Commander-in-chief of the German Armed Forces, and Herr Himmler, Chief of the German Police, and the State Secretaries Weizsäcker and Bohle, arrived at the Brenner Pass on the morning of May 3rd where he was welcomed by the Duke of Pistoia and Minister Starace, Secretary of the Fascist Party. The Fuhrer then experienced a veritable triumphal journey on his way to Rome where he was greeted upon arriving the evening of the same day at the Ostia Station, especially constructed for the occasion, by King Victor Emanuel and Benito Mussolini at the head of a big entourage of state dignitaries. Responding to an appeal made by the Governor of Rome, the inhabitants of the gaily-decorated capital gave an enthusiastic reception to Chancellor Hitler as, having taken his seat in the Royal landau next to his host, the King of Italy, he was driven along the newly-named Viale Adolfo Hitler to the Quirinal where he took up residence during his stay in the Italian capital. At the Paul's Gate, the Governor of Rome, Prince Colonna, welcomed the Fuhrer on behalf of the City of Rome.

On May 4th, Mussolini paid an early morning call on the Führer at the Quirinal. There followed the ceremonies of depositing wreaths in the Pantheon, on the tomb of the Italian monarchs, at the shrine of the Unknown Warrior and at the Fascist Memorial. The Führer then paid a return visit to Mussolini whereby the first opportunity was created for political conversations. In the afternoon,

events of the last few years, which have also shown the world that it is necessary to take some account of the rightful and vital interests of great nations

It is therefore quite natural that our two peoples should in the future continue to develop and extend in constant collaboration this friendship, which in these last years has repeatedly proved its value

Duce, last August on the May Field in Berlin you quoted as an ethical principle, sacred to you and Fascist Italy, these words "Speak plainly and frankly, and if you have a friend march with him right to the end" In the name of National Socialist Germany I, too, acknowledge this rule Today I give you this answer Two thousand years have now passed since Romans and Germans met for the first time in history as we know it Standing here on this, the most glorious spot known to humanity, I feel it was a tragedy of fate that for a time no clear frontier was drawn between these great and gifted races It caused untold suffering for generations Now, after almost 2,000 years, thanks to your historic efforts, Benito Mussolini, the Roman State rises from its remote traditions to new life

To the north of you a new German State has grown up from countless tribes Now that we have become immediate neighbours, taught by the experience of 2,000 years, we both acknowledge those natural frontiers which Providence and history have visibly drawn between our two peoples They will give Italy and Germany not only the possibility of peaceful and permanent collaboration through a clear division of their spheres of activity, but will provide a bridge for mutual help and support It is my irrevocable will and my bequest to the German people that the frontier of the Alps, which Nature has erected between us, shall be regarded for ever as unchangeable I know that thus a great and prosperous future will ensue for Rome and Germany

Duce, just as you and your people kept friendship for Germany in a moment of crisis, so I and my people are ready to show Italy the same friendship in times of stress The magnificent impressions I have just received of the youthful strength, the will to work, and the proud spirit of the new Italy will remain imperishable in my memory. Unforgettable, too, was the sight of your soldiers and Blackshirts, fresh from their recent victories, your well tried Fleet, and the prowess of your magnificent Air Force. They give me certainty that your admirable constructive work, which I follow with sincerest good wishes, will lead to further good results

I raise my glass and drink to your health, to the good fortune and greatness of the Italian people, and to our unchangeable friendship"

A military display, in which all services took part and in the course of which live ammunition was used, was held on May 8th in the presence of King Victor Emanuel, the Fuhrer and the Duce, in the neighbourhood of the coastal town of Santa Marinella The invited guests were then driven out to Furbara aerodrome to attend the Air Display. Squadrons of the Italian C. R. 32 pursuit machines carried out some very high-class aerobatics in formation, including the famous double roll In the evening, the Fuhrer visited the Colosseum and then dined with Count Ciano at the Villa Madama, which overlooks the Mussolini Forum The last spectacle of his Rome programme was a military and gymnastic display, followed by a performance of the second act of Lohengrin in the Olympic Stadium of the Mussolini Forum After the display, which included evolutions by 3,000 young Fascists carrying torches, the lights were dimmed, leaving only the

gigantic stage illuminated, and the operatic performance began The evening ended with a firework display along the banks of the River Tiber

At nine o'clock Monday morning, May 9th, the Fuhrer accompanied by King Victor Emanuel and the Duce left Rome for Florence He arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and immediately proceeded to inspect the sights of the city At midnight, he boarded his special train to return to Germany

The Fuhrer crossed the Italo German frontier at the Brenner Pass in the early hours of May 10th He had been accompanied to the frontier by the Duke of Pistoia and Minister Starace Upon his leaving Italian soil, farewell messages was exchanged between him and his host, King Victor Emanuel, as well as with the Duce and the Italian Crown Prince Adolf Hitler arrived in Berlin on the evening of the same day and was given a rousing ovation by the population Fieldmarshal Göring, in an address of welcome, said that the German people had felt itself honoured by the way in which its Fuhrer had been received in Italy It was no accident that the two outstanding statesmen that this century had produced had become linked in friendship This friendship was at the same time the friendship of nations which should be just as enduring as the eternal peace which the Fuhrer had proclaimed between the two peoples

In the face of a number of incorrect and, in part, malicious accounts of the significance of the new German Italian meeting, the more serious section of the foreign press was able to take an objective view of the stability and purpose of the Berlin-Rome axis so clearly manifested on this occasion The days spent by the Fuhrer in Italy have served to convey the most profound impression of the restored greatness of the Italian people Those who, like the author of these lines, were allowed to participate in these events, cannot doubt for one moment that this Italy in its armoured might and with the magnificent elements of its cultural traditions is a power which cannot be excluded from international cooperation and which constitutes a valuable partner for Germany

On the other hand, Adolf Hitler's solemn assurance with regard to the inviol ability of the Brenner frontier has banished the last doubt which might have cast its shadow upon the relations between these two nations, so that we can safely predict permanency for this friendship created by two of Europe's leading statesmen

confession of political faith in question shall conform to the fundamental principles of the Fatherland Front besides which there can be no political party or organisation in Austria, and within which the equality of all is assured on condition of unshakable adhesion to those fundamental principles This will be the task of the Fatherland Front during the next few weeks The observation of the laws of Austria, hence also of the law concerning the Fatherland Front, and the recognition of the Austrian Constitution, form the basis of the latest agreement and the expressly defined condition precedent of cooperation with the Reich

At the same time the Reich Government renewed the promise to take the necessary measures to prevent any intervention in Austria's internal affairs It has been agreed that illegal actions in Austria can under no circumstances reckon either on the connivance of a foreign State or on the tolerance of the Austrian Federal Government, and that such illegal actions will incur the penalties provided for by the law This is my concluding remark on this subject, which for various reasons seems to be deserving of special attention

I have spoken of an honourable peace No peace would have been honourable if it had justified those elements in Austria who but a short time ago spoke of the illegality of the Austrian Constitution and of the perjurers in the Austrian Government, who had preached violence and terrorism, and who had announced the recommencement of party controversies But it was an honourable peace, because based on the immutability of the principles which we have always defended respecting our Constitution and the Fatherland Front, hence concerning the foundations on which our State has been built up We were well aware that we could go *thus far but no farther* We did not fear to go thus far because, confiding in the word and the personality of the Fuhrer and Chancellor who has successfully conducted the destinies of the great German Reich confided to him, we determined to adopt a course which if it be consistently followed must in our conviction conduce to the welfare of the Austrian Fatherland and of the entire German people, and must therefore serve the interests of European peace

I particularly desire to stress that, fully conscious of my responsibility, as well as of the vital interests and the peaceful development of our Fatherland, I intend to fulfil without reserve the undertaking given by me on behalf of Austria We shall all rejoice if after difficult times which demanded many sacrifices and were brought to a conclusion by the negotiations of February 12, 1938, we have found the way to a real German peace—to a peace, the maintenance and consolidation of which will justify the concessions made in order to realise it

I now turn to the purely internal Austrian aspect of the problem The principles underlying the building up of the Austrian State and associated with the name of Dollfuss have been so clearly and frequently defined that it would be superfluous at this moment to repeat or emphasise them I would take this opportunity of inviting all Austrians who are alive to the requirements of the present day to inaugurate a new era of real political cooperation in which, conformably with our principles, every citizen shall enjoy the greatest possible freedom *in so far as such freedom is not limited by the regulations governing the organisation of the Fatherland Front* Under these circumstances nobody need fear any restriction of his personal liberty, provided he does not take advantage of the latter to conspire against the foundations and the fundamental laws of the State

I would especially appeal to the old and loyal standard bearers of the Austrian ideal, whose task it must be now more than ever to rally around the flag of the

Fatherland and to carry it forward with unflinching energy. On their labours it will depend first and foremost that the activity of the Fatherland Front be extended to all corners of our country, that all Austrians without exception be unshakably convinced of what is at stake. It is high time that the catchwords of a vanished era should be definitely put on the shelf. Clericalism and Anti-Clericalism are conceptions which have long since ceased to have any meaning. The words Liberal and Revolutionary should only be used by those, if there are any such persons, who are capable of defining what they understand by them. To the adherents of National Socialism, however, I would recommend the following considerations: namely, that neither Nationalism nor Socialism, but Patriotism, should be the watchword in Austria. All that is really sound in the various ideals and programmes will find its place in the Fatherland Front, *which is the one great national and social movement in our country.*"

Whereas the hope was entertained in Berlin that parity of rights had been secured for the National Socialist Party in Austria, the Vienna Government manifestly nourished the illusion of breaking the resistance of the National Socialists by absorbing them in the Fatherland Front whose motto was that of a so-called "independent Austria". Hence Chancellor Schuschnigg's speech met with a comprehensible cool reception in Germany. Political circles in the Reich nevertheless saw a certain guarantee for the fulfilment of the Berchtesgaden Agreement in the fact that the control of Austria's internal policy had been confided to the National Socialist Dr. Seyss-Inquart.

But the misunderstanding—to put it mildly—was not long in producing its inevitable results.

On the occasion of a meeting of functionaries of the Fatherland Front in Innsbruck on March 9, Chancellor Schuschnigg announced that a plebiscite would be held on the following Sunday, March 13, with the watchword: "For a free, German, independent, social, Christian, and united Austria! For Peace and Work and Parity of Rights of all who are prepared to rally to the ideals of Nation and Fatherland!"

As was subsequently ascertained, Chancellor Schuschnigg had taken this *momentous decision without the knowledge of the Cabinet or even of the* Minister of the Interior on whom in all countries the duty is incumbent of making the necessary technical preparations for the elections. According to reports the Chancellor's advisers on this occasion were the Minister of Education, Herr Perntner, the former Minister of Commerce, Herr Stockinger, the Chief Burgomaster of Vienna, Herr Schmitz, and the Governor of Lower Austria, Herr Reither.

The step announced by Chancellor Schuschnigg created unveiled astonishment in Berlin, which found its immediate expression in the Press. The Reich newspapers pointed out that the watchword under which the plebiscite was to be organised contained implications incompatible with the Berchtesgaden Agreement. Indignation was increased when the methods of voting became known, which had been decided upon by Chancellor Schuschnigg's Deputy in the leadership of the Fatherland Front, Herr Zernatto.

The regulation issued by Herr Zernatto provided that in every constituency an election committee consisting of a chairman and from two to four assessors, including one representative of employers and one representative of employees, should be formed The members of these committees were to be selected exclusively from registered adherents of the Fatherland Front A card of membership of the Fatherland Front, of the Peasants' Union, or of other similar organisations, was regarded as the equivalent of an elector's card No further documents of identification were necessary In fact, citizens who were personally known to one or more members of the election committee were to be admitted to vote without being in possession of any document at all The official elector's card bore on one side the word "Yes", and those persons who wished to record a negative vote were obliged to bring with them a sheet of paper of exactly the same dimensions (namely 5×8 centimeters) whereon they would have personally to write the word "No" All voting bulletins could be handed in either open or in a closed envelope

There were no lists of electors and there was no control Every elector, provided he was in possession of different documents of identification—that is to say, if he was at one and the same time a member of the Fatherland Front or of one or other similar organisation—would have had the possibility of going from one polling booth to another and of thus casting several votes Since in the polling booths only elector's cards inscribed with the words "Yes" were available, electors desirous of casting a negative vote would have been compelled to bring their own cards—*nota bene* of the same size—with them and to personally and publicly write the word "No" Consequently all pretext of anything resembling a secret ballot would have been cast aside This absence of secrecy was still more markedly characterised by the fact that in all public offices and undertakings, the plebiscite was to begin already on Saturday, March 12, within the premises

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Reich Press should have described this so called plebiscite as a farce and as irreconcilable with the most elementary democratic principles—a view shared by several foreign newspapers Disturbances occurred in Vienna and the provinces on March 10 and 11 Detachments of the Federal Army were lined up in Graz in order to prevent National Socialist demonstrations Tension rapidly increased and the menace of civil war loomed on the horizon

As a result of influence brought to bear on President Miklas, the Austrian broadcasting stations officially announced at 6 15 p m on March 11, that Dr Schuschnigg had decided to postpone the plebiscite One hour later the Federal Chancellor himself broadcast the announcement of his resignation in the following terms —

"We have been confronted to day by a difficult and decisive situation I am empowered to inform the Austrian people of the day's events The German Government presented the Federal President with an ultimatum requiring him to appoint a candidate proposed by the German Government as Federal Chancellor and to constitute a new Austrian Cabinet conformably with proposals made by the German Government, failing which German troops would march into Austria I wish to observe before the whole world that the sedulously propagated reports that labour

disorders had broken out in Austria, that streams of blood had flowed, that the Austrian Government no longer controlled the situation and was unable to maintain order, were maliciously invented from beginning to end.

President Miklas has authorised me to inform the Austrian nation that we shall yield to force. Because under no circumstances, not even in this supreme hour, do we intend that German blood shall be spilt, we have instructed our Army to retreat without offering any resistance in the event of an invasion and to await further decisions. The Federal President has entrusted General Schilhavsky with the command of the Army and further orders will be issued by him. I thus take leave of the Austrian nation with a German farewell greeting which likewise expresses my heartfelt wish: God save Austria."

The official German news agency broadcasted the following reply to Dr. von Schuschnigg's speech:—

"Chancellor Schuschnigg asserted that the Reich Government presented an ultimatum to Austria demanding the formation of a new Federal Cabinet. This assertion is untrue. The Reich Government never presented such ultimatum. On the contrary, Austrian Ministers themselves in view of the rapidly growing tension in Austria presented these demands to the Federal President. Chancellor Schuschnigg further asserted that the Reich Government demanded in ultimative form that a new Austrian Cabinet should be constituted on the basis of certain proposals of the Reich Government. This assertion does not correspond to the facts. Austrian Government circles, recognising the real nature of the situation in their country, had presented those demands to the Federal President. The Austrian Chancellor likewise declared that reports of disorders in Austria and of the incapacity of the Austrian Government to control the situation were mendacious fabrications. It may be pointed out that reports published throughout the world stressed the occurrence of innumerable clashes and resulting disorders. Communist hordes in Wiener-Neustadt had already organised an armed march on Vienna at the very moment when Chancellor Schuschnigg made his inaccurate assertions."

At 8.18 p.m. the newly appointed Austrian Minister of the Interior Dr. Seyss-Inquart issued the following broadcast appeal:—

"In connection with to-day's events and having regard to what may be expected in the immediate future, I would stress the fact that I am still in office as Minister of the Interior and of Public Security, and that I consider myself responsible for the maintenance of order throughout the country. I request all to maintain discipline which will be especially necessary within the next few hours and days. If demonstrations should take place, they must not be of an excessive nature. Hence I expect all the security formations of the National Socialist Party to take the necessary steps to maintain order and discipline everywhere and to bring their influence to bear on their own party comrades for that purpose. I expect them to give unconditional support to the Executive and to place themselves at the latter's disposal. I would especially emphasise that there must be no resistance to the German Army which may march into Austrian territory and that the most important duty incumbent on everyone is the maintenance of calm and order. Show endurance and fortitude, join your efforts, and let each one of us help to march towards a happier future!"

At the same time Minister Seyss-Inquart sent the following telegram to Chancellor Hitler: "The Provisional Austrian Government, which after the

resignation of the Schuschnigg Government regards as its duty the reestablishment of order in Austria, urgently requests the German Government to assist its efforts to prevent the shedding of blood It asks the German Government to despatch German troops for this purpose as soon as possible"

In the middle of the night, at 1 30 a m , the appointment of a National Socialist Government by the Federal President was announced The new Cabinet was composed as follows Federal Chancellor and Minister of Defence, Dr Seyss Inquart, Vice Chancellor, Dr Glaise Horstenau, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr Wilhelm Wolf, Minister of Justice, Dr Franz Hueber, Minister of Education, Dr Oswald Menghinx, Minister of Social Welfare, Dr Hugo Jury, Minister of Finance, Dr Rudolf Neumayer, Minister of Agriculture, Anton Reinthaller, Minister of Commerce, Dr Hans Fischbock The Prefect of Police in Vienna, Dr Michael Skubl, was appointed Secretary of State for Public Security

Dr Goebbels, at noon on Saturday, March 12, read to representatives of the German and foreign Press the following proclamation of Chancellor Hitler —

"Germans!

It is with deep concern that for several years we have followed the fate of our compatriots in Austria Austria has shared the destinies of the German people for many centuries, an association which was dissolved in 1866 but which was sealed anew in the World War The sufferings inflicted on that country, whether from without or from within were felt by us as our own, just as we on the other hand know that the misfortune of the Reich was the reason for similar sorrow and sympathy on the part of millions of German Austrians

When in Germany, thanks to the victory of the National Socialist idea, the nation again found its way to the proud self consciousness of a great people, a new era of bitter affliction was inaugurated in Austria A régime bereft of any legal basis endeavoured, although rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people, to maintain itself by the most brutal methods of terrorism, both physical and economic Thus the great German nation was a witness of the oppression of more than 6,000,000 persons of its own race and blood by a numerically insignificant minority which had succeeded in obtaining possession of the necessary means of power Political oppression went hand in hand with an economic decline which contrasted tragically with the renascence of the German Reich How could anyone take it amiss that these unfortunate German-Austrian citizens should have looked yearningly towards the Reich— towards Germany, with whom their ancestors were for centuries so intimately bound up, with whom they had only recently fought once more shoulder to shoulder in the greatest war of all times, whose culture was their own culture, and in common with whom they had contributed so greatly to the creation of their own highest values in all domains? The suppression of such elementary feelings implied the condemnation of millions of human beings to incalculable moral and mental misery But if it had been possible in former years to bear this oppression with patience, the spirit of resistance had naturally increased in course of time with the growth of prestige of the Reich

Germans! During the past few years I have repeatedly endeavoured to warn the Austrian Government of the eventual consequences of this policy It was madness to believe that it would be possible by methods of oppression and terrorism to per-

manently deprive a vast body of citizens of their natural attachment to a nation of their own flesh and blood. European history proves that in all cases where such a policy is pursued the only result is to increase fanaticism. This fanaticism compels the oppressor to resort to constantly more violent measures of repression which, in their turn, have the inevitable result of augmenting the hatred of the oppressed. I endeavoured to convince the responsible Austrian statesmen that in the long run it would be impossible for a great nation, because unworthy of it, to remain a passive spectator when citizens belonging to the same race and culture as itself were persecuted on account of their devotion to that race and culture and to a certain political ideal. Germany had been obliged to give hospitality to over 40,000 refugees. Some 10,000 others had been imprisoned or interned in Austria, while hundreds of thousands had been reduced to beggary. No nation in the world could in the long run tolerate the continuation of such conditions on its frontiers, or, if it did, it would deserve to be despised.

In 1936 I set myself the task of trying to find a way which opened-out a possibility of relieving the sufferings of our kinsfolk in this German sister country, and of thus arriving at a real reconciliation. But the agreement of July 11 had hardly been signed when it was already broken. The overwhelming majority were still denied their rights, were still maintained in a position of inferiority as pariahs. Persecution was the fate of everyone who openly declared his allegiance to the German nation, whether he was a National Socialist navvy or a distinguished veteran commander of the World War.

This year I endeavoured again to bring about an understanding. I tried to make it clear to the representative of that régime—who confronted me, the elected leader of the German nation, without himself possessing any valid mandate—that such a state of affairs was impossible in the long run, since the growing indignation of the Austrian people could not be eternally repressed even by methods of constantly increasing violence, that a moment would inevitably come when it would be impossible for the Reich to contemplate such a situation with impassibility. If the solution of colonial questions is to be made dependent on the right to self-determination of primitive peoples, it cannot be tolerated that 6½ million citizens of a great and ancient civilised nation should be denied that right. Hence I desired to conclude a new agreement, under the terms of which all Germans in Austria should enjoy full parity of rights and duties. Such an agreement was destined in my mind to complete that of July 11, 1936.

Unfortunately, only a few weeks later we observed to our regret that the former Austrian Government did not contemplate fulfilling our latest agreement in the spirit in which it had been conceived. But in order to seek to justify its incessant violations of the right of Austrian Germans, the Austrian Government hatched the plan of a plebiscite destined to definitely deprive the majority of the Austrian population of those rights. A plebiscite was scheduled to take place within barely 3½ days in a country in which no elections had been held for several years and in which no up-to-date lists of electors existed, hence no valid electors' cards were available. Moreover no control even of the existing lists was possible, there was no guarantee of the secrecy of the ballot, there was no security as regards the counting of the votes.

If a régime is entitled to base its claim to legality on the employment of such methods, we National Socialists in the Reich were simply fools during fifteen years! We fought hundreds of elections and by dint of patient labour gradually won the confidence of the German nation. When the late President of the Reich finally sum-

moned me to form a Government, I was already the leader of by far the strongest party in the Reich Since then I have invariably endeavoured to have the legality of my actions confirmed by the German nation, and they have always been confirmed If the methods which Herr Schuschnigg wished to apply are the right ones, then the plebiscite in the Saar region was only a chicane by means of which the return of the Saar population to the Reich was to be rendered more difficult We hold a different opinion I think we can all be proud of the fact that precisely on the occasion of the plebiscite in the Saar we were given such an unimpeachable vote of confidence by the German people

The Germans in Austria themselves rose against this unique attempt of an election swindle Had the Austrian Government endeavoured to stem the rising wave of protest by force, civil war must inevitably have resulted But the Reich Government cannot admit that Germans should any longer be persecuted on Austrian territory on account of their adhesion to the German nation or to certain ideals The German Reich requires peace and order I therefore decided to place the resources of the Reich at the disposal of the millions of Germans in Austria Since this morning soldiers belonging to the German fighting forces are marching across the Austro German frontiers Mechanised troops and infantry, German airplanes in the blue sky, summoned by the new National Socialist Government in Vienna, are the guarantors that the Austrian nation shall at an early date be afforded the possibility of determining its future destinies by a real plebiscite

Behind our troops are the will and the resolution of the entire German nation I myself as Fuhrer and Chancellor will be glad to be able to tread, as a free German citizen, the soil of the country which is my home The world may convince itself that the Germans in Austria are these days living hours of sacred joy and emotion and that they see in the brothers come to their aid helpers in greatest distress

Long live the National Socialist German Reich! Long live National Socialist German Austria!"

In the afternoon of the same day, March 12, Chancellor Hitler left for Austria after appointing Field Marshal Goring to act as his representative during his absence He crossed the Austrian frontier at Braunau on the Inn, where he had been born 48 years previously, and arrived in the evening at Linz on the Danube Here he was welcomed by the new Austrian Chancellor, Dr Seyss Inquart, with the following speech —

"In an hour of momentous importance not only for the German nation but also for the shaping of European history I welcome you, my Fuhrer and Chancellor of the Reich, and with me the whole country, for the first time on your return to Austria The time has come when the various branches of the German nation have again and definitely found their way to each other despite the Treaty of Versailles, despite compulsion, despite the ill will and lack of comprehension of the outside world To day the German nation is unanimous in its will to stand shoulder to shoulder in struggle and suffering The road along which we have travelled was a difficult and thorny one, marked as it was by the catastrophic defeat of our nation But it was this catastrophe which gave birth to the magnificent idea of our intangible solidarity, to the consciousness of the common destiny of a united people, in other words to the idea of National Socialism

You, my Führer, as a son of these frontier Marches, have personally experienced the distress of its inhabitants This experience inspired your determination to leave

no stone unturned to lead the German people out of the slough of despond And you have succeeded You are the leader of the German nation in its struggle for the recovery of its honour, its freedom, and its right We Austrians have now of our own free will as an independent German people openly rallied for all times to this ideal, and at the same time we have solemnly declared that Article 88 of the Peace Treaty no longer possesses any validity The troops of the powerful Army of the Reich are entering our country amid the acclamations of our people Austria welcomes the German soldiers, not in a spirit of defiance, but with the object of showing the whole world that the entire German nation has joined hands in order to protect the united German Reich The creation of this united German Reich, in which are incorporated the ideals of order, peace, and liberty, is our aim, and the Führer of this Reich is Adolf Hitler As a simple man I can only say in simple words, but which reflect the heartfelt feelings of millions of Austrians we thank you—we have always fought with you for the preservation of these frontier Marches and I am convinced that we have fought a good fight We now greet you with a joy that fills all German hearts Hail, my Führer!'

Chancellor Hitler replied as follows —

"I thank you for your words of welcome I am especially grateful to all those who are assembled here to bear testimony to the fact that it is not only the will and the desire of a small minority to create this great united German Reich, but that its creation is willed and desired by the German nation itself It would be desirable that some of those international searchers after truth who are so familiar to us could be here to day so that they might be able, not only to witness real facts, but to admit them later on

When, many years ago, I left this city I carried with me the same indefectible conviction which inspires me to day Hence you may imagine my emotion on witnessing after so many years the realisation of my fervent yearning If it was Providence which at that time called me away from this city in order to entrust to my care the destinies of the Reich, it must have been part of the mission confided to me to reunite my beloved country with the German Fatherland I believed in that mission, it is for that mission that I have lived and fought, and I am conscious of having now accomplished it All of you are witnesses and guarantors thereof

I hope the day is not far off when you will be called upon to decide your future And I am convinced that on that day I shall be able to point with pride to my native country For your decision must be such as to prove to the world that any further attempt to tear the German people asunder will be in vain Together with you, the whole of Germany will be prepared to contribute to the shaping of the future of the German nation You must regard the German soldiers from all parts of the Reich who at this very hour are entering Austria as men who are ready and willing to sacrifice everything for the unity, freedom, power, and greatness of the German nation, now and for all times"

The British and French Governments strongly protested in Berlin against the intervention of the Reich Government in Austria, basing their protests on information supplied to them by their respective Legations in Vienna The Reich Government rejected these protests as unjustified, stressing at the same time the inaccuracy of the information given

On March 11 Chancellor Hitler's special envoy the Prince of Hesse handed

Chief of police in Vienna, but had been dismissed after the attempted National Socialist *coup d'Etat* in July, 1934

Since his arrival on Austrian soil Chancellor Hitler had everywhere been accompanied by the enthusiastic cheers of the population, and great demonstrations had taken place in his native town of Braunau, as well as in Linz and Vienna Popular enthusiasm attained its culminating point in a gigantic demonstration on the Heroes' Square in Vienna on March 14, when a vast crowd numbering many hundreds of thousands acclaimed the Chancellor

The Reich Governor of the Province of Austria, Dr Seyss Inquart, as the last remaining representative of the former Austrian Federal State, opened the proceedings by announcing that Austria was henceforth an integral part of the Reich conformably with the will of the German people and of its leader The speaker announced to the German nation and the whole world that the Fuhrer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler had made his entry in to the Castle of the ancient capital of the Reich and that "the Eastern Marches of the Reich had returned home"

Chancellor Hitler then addressed the crowd He began by pointing out that a revolution had taken place within the German community, the extent and importance of which could only be properly appreciated by future generations The Chancellor went on to say that the former rulers of Austria had often spoken of the special mission incumbent on her One of the leaders of the Legitimists had defined the mission of Austria, who depended for her very existence on the good will of foreign countries, as that of preventing the formation of a Greater German Reich and of blocking the way for a return of Austria to the common Fatherland

Chancellor Hitler continued "I now proclaim a new mission for this country conformably with the commandment which once upon a time summoned here the German settlers from all parts of the old Reich The oldest Eastern March of the German people shall be henceforth the newest bulwark of the German Nation and consequently of the German Reich"

The Chancellor said he could assure the other 68 million inhabitants of the Reich that this was a German country, that it understood its mission, and was resolved to fulfil it Austria's loyalty to the great community of German peoples would never be exceeded elsewhere

After the Chancellor had expressed his thanks to the members of the National Socialist Government in Austria, and especially to the Reich Governor Dr Seyss-Inquart, and also to the numerous party functionaries and the innumerable unknown idealists who had worked in view of the accomplishment of this aim, he concluded his speech with the words "I can now make to the German nation the greatest announcement that I have ever made in my life As Fuhrer and Chancellor I announce to history the return of my native land to the German Reich"

Following the celebrations a parade took place in which Austrian troops who already wore on the right hand lapel of their uniforms the badge of their new

allegiance, participated side by side with those German troops who had already arrived in Vienna.

In addition to the air force squadrons which had been the first to reach the Austrian capital in the morning of March 12, various others detachments of the German fighting forces had been despatched at the request of Dr. Seyss-Inquart in his capacity of Federal Chancellor. These included the eighth Army under the command of General von Bock, the second armoured division, a column of Storm Guards, and 16,000 men of the German Police. During their march through Austrian territory the Germans had everywhere been cordially received by the inhabitants.

The Austrian troops took the oath of allegiance to the Führer and Commander-in-Chief. As has already been mentioned, the last Austrian Federal Chancellor, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, was appointed Reich Governor of the newly created Province of Austria.

The German Government communicated to all other States the fact of the reunion of Austria with the Reich and informed them at the same time that the Austrian diplomatic representatives abroad had received instructions to place themselves at the disposal of the German Embassies and Legations. The last Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wolf, surrendered the Austrian Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister Herr von Ribbentrop.

Mussolini delivered a speech in the Italian Chamber in which he dealt with recent events in Austria. He drew a parallel between the reunion of Austria with the German Reich and the Italian efforts at unification in 1859 and 1870. The Piemontese troops at that time, like the German troops to-day, did not come as enemies into conquered, but as friends into reunited, territory. The Duce proceeded to give a review of Italy's policy towards Austria since 1929. When Chancellor Dollfuss saw himself compelled, in February, 1934 to crush a Social Democratic insurrection, four Italian divisions were despatched to the Brenner. This was an elementary precaution. It is true that no Austrian statesman had requested that such a step should be taken, but, on the other hand, no Austrian statesman had ever expressed any gratitude for it. From 1934 till 1936 Italy's policy had been dictated by the Rome protocols. When the Rome-Berlin axis was formed in October, 1936, Mussolini had called the attention of the Austrian Cabinet to the fact that this axis could not be expected to permanently serve a cause which might be legitimately hostile by the Reich. Mussolini went on to say that on the occasion of a meeting with Chancellor Schuschnigg in April, 1937, he had exposed to the Austrian Chancellor that the independence of Austria was a question that concerned the Austrians alone. On March 7, 1938, a representative of Chancellor Schuschnigg had visited Mussolini in order to ask his opinion concerning a plebiscite. Mussolini stated that he had replied deprecating the idea which he had described as "a bomb likely to explode in Schuschnigg's own hand." If Italy had refrained from intervening, this was due to the fact that she had undertaken no obligation whatever, either direct or indirect, in this respect. Italy's interest in the independence of Austria was dependent on the

so bitterly contained as a matter of fact, nothing more than the unambiguous *assurance that Germany could no longer tolerate the oppression of German* citizens in Austria It was consequently a warning not to pursue a policy which must have inevitably led to the shedding of blood That my attitude was right is proved by the fact that within three days the entire population of Austria welcomed me with open arms without a single shot having been fired or a single victim having to be deplored If I had not responded to the wish of the Austrian people and its National Socialist Government, it is certain that conditions would have arisen which would in any case have rendered my intervention inevitable at a later date My aim was to save this wonderful country from untold suffering Herr Schuschnigg and his adherents can be thankful for my decision which has had the result of sparing his life and the lives of many thousands of others It affords me a proud satisfaction to be able to bring back to the Reich a land which is not only unscotched but whose inhabitants are also full of joy at the fulfilment of their destiny "

Chancellor Hitler then dwelt on the reaction to the Anschluss in foreign countries The Western Democracies, he said, had been totally unable to understand these events, a number of other countries had declared themselves disinterested, a few had expressed their warm approval and in this connection Chancellor Hitler especially mentioned Poland and Yugoslavia With regard to Italy, *Hitler recalled his letter to Mussolini and stressed in this connection that* Germany entirely appreciated the Duce's attitude which more than anything else had contributed to consolidate the relations between Italy and Germany Indissoluble friendship had succeeded the ideological community of views which had hitherto united the two countries So far as Germany was concerned, Italy and her frontiers were inviolable The Rome Berlin axis had rendered a tremendous service to the cause of world peace

Chancellor Hitler concluded his speech by pointing out that for the first time in history the whole German nation, in so far as it was incorporated in the Greater Germany of to day, would go to the polling booths on April 10 in order to testify to its allegiance The Chancellor further announced that the Reichstag would be dissolved and that a new General Election would take place simultaneously with the plebiscite on April 10 Just as the Chancellor in 1933 had requested the German nation to give him four years' time in which to solve the great task confronting him, he would now request it to give him another four years' respite in order to consolidate internally the reunion which had already been accomplished externally It was his unshakable conviction that at the end of this period the indissolubility of the new and extended German Reich would have become an incontestable fact

The decree concerning the plebiscite and the Reichstag elections read as follows In order to give the German nation the opportunity of expressing its view regarding the reunion of Austria with the Reich, a plebiscite will be organised in all parts of the Reich including Austria on April 10, 1938 The present German Reichstag is herewith dissolved and elections for the new Reichstag will take place on the aforesaid day in order to furnish the German citizens in Austria

with the opportunity of electing their representatives in the Greater German Reichstag

On March 26 Field Marshal Göring, addressing a mass meeting held in the large hall of the Vienna Northwest Railway Station, explained the reconstruction programme drawn up for Austria The following is an outline of the speech

It was perhaps more than a mere accident, the speaker said, that the Führer himself was Austrian born He certainly had been entrusted with a mission, and that mission was to re incorporate Austria in the Reich In that, he had succeeded, Austria had been liberated and was again part of the Reich Herr Goring then described the events that had taken place subsequent to the conclusion of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and said that the election preparations made by Herr Schuschnigg were a huge fraud that would still have a sequel in the courts It would be shown that the representatives of democracy had been cheated and that the results of the voting (supposed to be conducted on democratic principles) had been agreed upon beforehand Documents had been found in which it was stated that 97 per cent of the electors had voted for Herr Schuschnigg Thereupon the German troops of liberation for which the Austrian Government had asked entered Austria—not as enemies or conquerors, but as friends and kinsmen—and received an enthusiastic welcome on the part of the Austrian people

Herr Goring then gave a summary account of the successes achieved by the National Socialist Government in Germany, both at home and abroad He emphatically warned his audience against thinking that the men from the Reich had come to do all the work and that they, the Austrians, could sit down and just watch them doing it Things would take a directly opposite course The Austrians themselves would have to work as hard as possible to restore normal conditions, and the Reich would confine itself to the issuance of the general directions, because the same legislative and practical measures that had proved so successful in the old Reich would be applied to Austria also Their main object must be to eradicate unemployment Deeds, and not words, were what was mostly needed

The economic reconstruction of Austria would comprise the following —

(1) The fixing of a definite ratio for the conversion of schillings into reichsmarks (This had already been done, so that all payments could now be made in reichsmarks)

(2) The immediate payment to manufacturers of the whole Clearing balance, thus enabling them to re convert this money (60,000,000 schillings) into work

(3) Abolition of customs

(4) Measures directly concerned with rearmament Erection of barracks and aeroplane factories, opening of the Wiener Neustadt aeroplane factory, development of the armament industries


0 100 200km
Königsberg
DANZIG
Hamburg
Amsterdam
HOL-LAND
Hanover
BERLIN
Warsaw
POLAND
GREATER GERMANY
Leipzig
Breslau
Brussels
BELGIUM
Cologne
Rhine
Frankfurt a/M
Prag
CHECKO-SLOVAKIA
Nuremberg
Brünn
Regensburg
Stuttgart
FRENCH
Vienna
Munich
Budapest
Zurich
Innsbruck
Graz
HUNGARY
Bern
SWITZERLAND
RUMANIA
ITALY
Triest
JUGO-SLAVIA

(5) Measures indirectly concerned with rearmament: the opening-up of all production reserves and the erection of additional works for production.

(6) Utilisation of water-power: the immediate erection of a power station in the Hohen Tauern mountains and one (already projected) near Grein-on-the-Danube; several smaller projects of similar kind; improvement of shipping conditions on the Danube.

(7) Increased exploitation of the country's mineral resources: Extension of the *Alpine Montanwerke* and doubling the volume of their production; exploitation of additional ore deposits by the *Reichswerke Hermann Göring*. The smelting works projected for Franconia are to be erected near Linz. Plans are to be completed by the end of April, and building work is to start in May. Extended working of the copper mines in the Tyrol and in Carinthia and of the copper, lead, magnesite, manganese, etc., mines generally.

(8) Extension of mineral-oil production in the Vienna area, the necessary derricks to be conveyed from the Reich.

(9) Development of the chemical industries, Austrian coal lending itself particularly well to the manufacture of petrol (gasoline) and light oils.

(10) Immediate erection of a factory for the production of cellulose on a basis of hard timber.

(11) Better utilisation of the forests through improved organisation and the use of greater care in cutting down the timber.

(12) Immediate construction of 1,100 kilometres (700 miles) of Reich motor-roads, comprising a road from the former frontier to Salzburg and on to Linz and Vienna, a road from Passau to Linz, and a road from Vienna to Salzburg *via* Radstatt with a branch to Graz. In addition, the existing network of roads is to be further developed.

(13) Construction of two bridges across the Danube, one of them to be near Linz. Two other bridges across the Danube to be built later on.

(14) Construction of new railway lines and conversion of narrow-gauge lines into standard-gauge lines.

(15) Speeding-up the work of building the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

(16) Drawing-up the plans for a big river-port in Vienna to be constructed later on.

(17) Measures in connection with agriculture: Large-scale melioration work with regard to mountain streams; reclamation of high-altitude valleys and swamps; drainage work; use of low-priced artificial fertilisers; advances on the work of modernising farmsteads, barns, stables, and silos; re-adjustment and improvement of the agricultural credit system.

Hand in hand with the carrying-out of this programme, Herr Göring proceeded, the standard of living for all categories of workers, more especially the manual workers, would have to be improved. It had therefore been decided to resume the payment of unemployment benefits to persons who had already

lost their legal claim to them by utilising the funds held by the Reich Institution for Unemployment Insurance The legislation governing the dismissal of workers would be developed and regulations would be issued for the payment of wages on public holidays and for ensuring that the rates of salaries and wages, the terms of work, etc , could not be altered to the detriment of the workers *It was also laid down* that the Reich legislation relative to the system of annuity insurances (disablement insurance, etc) for workers would be extended to Austria also A Reich Trustee of Labour would be appointed with headquarters in Vienna The erection of workmen's dwellings under the settlements scheme would be taken in hand, and the advantages offered by membership of the "Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*) organisation, would, of course, be available for Austrian workers also As regards public servants, the State was not interested in those of them who had to be pensioned off because of their unreliability None of those, however, who were ready to serve under the new regime, need have any fear of losing their means of subsistence, as there would be work for all of them

The city of Vienna, with its Jewish population of about 300,000, could not very well call itself a 100 per-cent, German town at present He, the Minister, had therefore instructed the Reich Governor to take all the steps necessary to lead to the "Aryanisation" of its public and business activities

Herr Göring then dealt with those critics who asserted that religious persecution would be the next item on the programme In Germany, he said, no churches had been burnt down and no priests had been ill treated or debarred from carrying out their ecclesiastical duties It was necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation The Church had its own mission to fulfil and the State and the Party had theirs True, the Centre Party had been made illegal and the clergy had been prohibited from mixing themselves up with politics, but there was no truth in saying that the Catholic Church had been attacked National Socialists had not a word to say against the Church and still less against religion, even though it could not be said that they identified themselves with any particular denomination Far from persecuting true religion, National Socialists had been instrumental in making the people religious once more They wanted the people to be religious They would continue to give to the Church all the protection to which it was entitled, but the Church must abstain from interfering in matters outside its competency No compromise was possible on these questions

Another allegation, Herr Goring continued, was that a campaign of vengeance would be started after April 10 No doubt, he said, some members of the Party had a right to feel vindictive, and a good many of their former opponents had deserved the death sentence There was only one man in Germany who was the supreme arbiter of life and death, and that was the Führer So there would be no retaliation, but a firm will to forgive those who had been led astray and a desire to understand their motives They had no use for common informers and would deal with them as they deserved The Legitimist cause was dead Those who still looked forward to the possibility of a Habsburg restoration,

would have to bury their hopes If they continued to take active steps in that direction, they would make themselves liable to the charge of high treason and to very severe penalties

The Archbishop of Vienna (Cardinal Innitzer) delivered to *Gauleiter* Burckel, the Commissar of the Fuhrer for the Plebiscite, a declaration made by the Austrian bishops and dated March 18th, in which the signatories gratefully acknowledge that the National Socialist movement had rendered—and was still rendering—eminently valuable services to the German Reich and the German people, more especially the poorer classes, in the domains of racial and economic reconstruction and social policy The bishops express their conviction that National Socialism is a strong bulwark against all destroying and godless Bolshevism They will admonish their flock in this sense and confer their blessings on its activities Being of German stock, they look upon it as their natural duty to identify themselves with the German Reich on the day of the Plebiscite and they expect that all faithful Christians will know what they owe their nation The declaration bears the signatures of the Archbishop of Vienna (Cardinal Innitzer), Prince Archbishop Waitz of Salzburg, Prince Bishop Hefter, Prince Bishop Pawlikowski, Bishop Gfollner, and Bishop Memelauer

A few days later, the Archbishop addressed a letter to *Gauleiter* Burckel in which he referred to reports published by some foreign newspapers alleging that the afore mentioned declaration was made in connection with a visit which the Papal Nuncio had paid to Herr von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister, and that it was merely a gesture He (the Archbishop) desired to affirm that the declaration was made spontaneously and was drawn up in view of the historic importance of the reunion of Austria with the Reich He considered it below his dignity to make mere gestures at a moment of such importance The declaration expressed the true conviction of the signatories and was prompted by the ties of blood that united all Germans He hoped that it would inaugurate a new era in the religious and cultural life of the whole nation and that the great work of appeasement and conciliation as regards the Church, the State and the Party could now begin

Prior to the elections for the first Reichstag of Greater Germany the Fuhrer delivered a number of speeches in Königsberg, Danzig, Leipzig, Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfort on Main, Stuttgart, Munich, Graz, Klagenfurt, Innsbruck, Salzburg and Linz Speeches were also made in various towns by Reich Ministers and other prominent personages At 12 o'clock on April 9, the day preceding the elections, Reich Minister Dr Goebbels addressed a mass meeting from the balcony of the Vienna Town Hall, in which he proclaimed that day to be specially dedicated to the cause of Greater Germany Mass meetings of a similar kind were simultaneously held on the premises of all German factories and other undertakings

In the evening of that day, and therefore on the verge of the elections, the

Fuhrer delivered the final speech to the electors It was relayed by wireless to all parts of the Reich The following is a brief outline of what he said

He emphasised that he was addressing himself to all those who, despite the truly decisive events that had happened, believed that they could still hold themselves aloof He reviewed his past political career and disclaimed respon sibility for any developments that had taken place before he had entered the political stage After the War, the nation was divided into two camps—that of the *bourgeoisie* and that of the proletariat The former hoped for assistance from the *bourgeoisie* outside the national boundaries and the latter pinned their faith on Moscow, but neither the one nor the other section was able to save the country by means of its own strength More than thirty six parties were competing with one another They had unsuccessfully argued their respective cases for years and decades, from which it might be inferred that all their programmes were all useless The programme, however, which had been evolved by him, had conquered the whole nation within a relatively short time He had come to the conclusion that the salvation of each country must be brought about exclusively by itself and that, in order to achieve it, the national ideal must be blended with the social The consolidation of the German people was not a ripe fruit that had just dropped into his lap For several years he had to fight for the souls of his countrymen, his only weapons in this struggle being his conviction and his appeals to their patriotism No unbiassed ob-server could deny that he, the unknown front soldier, had fought his fight successfully

The Fuhrer then briefly related the following epoch making events that had taken place in Germany since he had taken up office In 1933, Germany withdrew from the League and left the Disarmament Conference A twelvemonth later, the country's defence forces had grown into a powerful instrument The liberation of the Rhineland followed next A year later, Germany's absolute equality of status was secured, and now, again a year later, he was speaking in Vienna, addressing the whole nation This political renaissance had had for its counterpart a far reaching economic reconstruction He reminded his hearers, in this connec-tion, of the attainment of social peace at home, the great achievements of the Labour Front, and the "Strength through Joy" organisation

All these achievements were evidence of a genuine national consolidation All their efforts had been inspired by a wish to make it unnecessary for Germany to surrender to her enemies abroad If they thought that they could force her to capitulate to them, he (Hitler) would mobilise her inventors, her engineers, and her chemists, and then she would achieve her independence in that domain also There could be no doubt that Germany had developed into a real Great Power within the space of a bare five years Her strength lay in her national consolidation, symbolised by an ideal and a great national movement This movement, as well as the new Germany herself, had been called into existence by him

If anyone should ask him what gave him a right to speak to the people of Vienna, his answer would be (1) This is German soil and these people are

German people. (2) Economic reasons and reasons of population policy have proved beyond contradiction that Austria cannot, in the long run, live apart from the Reich. (3) The German people of Austria had no wish to be separated from the Reich, and even the ill-treatment and terrorising indulged in by a small minority could not suppress the ties of racial kinship. (4) If neither of these reasons should be sufficient, he would say: "This is my homeland." When still a boy, he went from Linz to Vienna, and thence to the Reich; and it made him happy to think that he had been able to risk his life in fighting for Germany. When all others had given themselves up to doubt and dismay, he had struggled for the people's confidence and he had gained it. (5) He was standing where he stood because he thought he could do better than Herr Schuschnigg. He sincerely believed that Providence had blessed his work of re-uniting his Austrian homeland to the Greater German Reich and he appealed to all of them to endorse the peaceful work of re-incorporation by their votes.

On April 10, 1938, the Plebiscite and the elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany were held, the results being as follows:

Plebiscite in Austria.

The figures are exclusive of the votes of Reich nationals resident in Austria, but inclusive of those of Austrian nationals resident in the Reich.—Total number entitled to vote: 4,474,138; total actual vote: 4,460,778 (99.7%); total valid votes: 4,455,015; votes in favour of reunion: 4,443,208 (99.73% of valid votes); votes against reunion: 11,807; spoilt papers: 5,763.

Plebiscite in the Old Reich.

The figures are inclusive of the votes of Reich nationals resident in Austria.—Total number entitled to vote: 45,073,303; total actual vote: 44,872,702 (99.55%); total valid votes: 44,803,096; votes in favour of reunion: 44,362,667 (99.02% of valid votes); votes against reunion: 440,429; spoilt papers: 69,606.

Elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany.

	Territory of Old Reich	German nationals resident in Austria	Austria (excluding soldiers)	Austrian nationals resident in the Old Reich	Totals
Total numbers entitled to vote	45,016,612	56,691	4,300,177	119,548	49,493,028
Total actual vote (including *spoilt papers*)	44,816,553	56,149	4,287,431	118,971	49,279,104
Spoilt papers	69,462	144	5,651	90	75,347
For Herr Hitler's list	44,306,994	55,673	4,270,517	118,403	48,751,587
Do., percentage share of valid votes	99.02%	99.41%	99.74%	99.60%	99.08%
Against Herr Hitler's list	440,097	332	11,263	478	452,170

See also the foot-note*)

*) The foregoing figures showing the results of the elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany

The result of the Plebiscite in Austria was communicated to the Fuhrer by *Gauleiter* Burckel at midnight from the Vienna *Konzerthaus* by wireless In his reply, the Fuhrer said that the overwhelming vote cast for reunion constituted the most impressive endorsement of his entire political activities This was the proudest hour of his life

The newly elected Reichstag will have a membership of 813 as compared with 741 before the elections The difference, of course, is accounted for by the members elected in Austria

In view of the large scale election propaganda carried out for several weeks under the direction of Reich Minister Dr Goebbels it had been expected that the results of the Plebiscite would be very satisfactory The actual outcome, however, far surpassed the most optimistic forecasts It clearly proved that there is no opposition to the new regime in Germany and that the German people have an unbounded faith in the Fuhrer Never before had the German nation expressed itself with a similar unanimousness, and it is unlikely that any other nation has ever done so either

It has to be remembered, of course, that the propaganda was completely onesided and that no Opposition had been given a chance to organise itself But the representatives of the foreign Press were able to convince themselves personally that the balloting was conducted with absolute secrecy, so that the opponents of the regime could express their disapproval of the list by entering a cross in the proper place The results show that about 450,000 electors (or less than one per cent of the total) availed themselves of this possibility

Objection might likewise be taken to the fact that the text of the voting papers covered the Plebiscite as well as the Reichstag elections But as it was hardly probable that anyone in the territory of the Old Reich would vote against Austro German reunion, an affirmative reply to the second question was the natural corollary In regard to Austria, however, the position was quite different, as it was conceivable after all that part of the population might vote against reunion, and as there is no sign of that having been done except to a negligible extent, the inference is that all parties accepted the situation created by Herr Hitler

At any rate, it is evident that April 10, 1938, saw the curtain drop on what Mussolini has picturesquely described as "the fifth act of the Austrian drama," so that we are now in a position to examine without prejudice and without illusions the course of the historic development which, before the eyes of an astonished Europe, quickly transformed the "independent" Republic of Austria into an administrative unit of the German Reich, enjoying the same status as Bavaria, Saxony, etc

comprise those for the Plebiscite in the territory of the Old Reich and in Austria but are exclusive of those for the Austrian soldiers as these latter—although entitled to take part in the Plebiscite—were not entitled to take part in the Reichstag elections The voting of the soldiers was as follows —Total number entitled to vote—54 413 total actual vote—54 376, total valid votes—54 354, votes in favour of reunion—54 288 votes against reunion—66, spoilt papers—22

The Fuhrer, in the course of the first speech he made at Linz after the reunion, said: "It was in this city that Providence called upon me to take over the leadership of the Reich. This call, therefore, implied a mandate to work for the reunion of my beloved homeland with the Reich. I had faith in that mandate; I lived and struggled for it, and I believe I have now carried it out." These words make it clear that the solution of "the Austrian problem" has always been one of the chief aims of the Fuhrer's policy and are a direct confirmation of what he wrote in the first chapter of *Mein Kampf* about his intention to work for the re-incorporation of his native country in the Reich.

The steps subsequently taken were the logical outcome of this determination: National Socialist propaganda became active in Austria; the Party was organised and founded; thousands of political refugees were given support and shelter in the Reich; an attempt was made to convince ex-Chancellor Schuschnigg of the equal status of all Austrian citizens irrespective of their political views, and diplomatic action was taken to secure the tacit assent of certain governments interested in the peace and prosperity of Central Europe.

The realisation of the Führer's wish to effect the *Anschluss* by the progressive development of the situation, without running the risk of civil strife in Austria and without involving international complications was facilitated by Herr Schuschnigg's own imprudent action in announcing a plebiscite that was to be held within three days. No voting lists had been prepared, no public control was provided for, and the circumstances were not favourable to the chances of the Patriotic Front. Indeed, a serious conflict between the National Socialist majority and the Government minority would have been the inevitable result.

In his farewell speech (which was broadcast by the Austrian stations) Herr Schuschnigg affirmed that he was master of the situation. That, however, was an illusion. The Hitler movement had numerous adherents, not only among the police forces, but also in the Army. But even assuming that he was right, the question must be asked: Under what conditions would the elections have been held and what would have been their effect upon the country's internal peace? All who were aware of the state of public feeling—and I believe I am one of them—were certain that civil war would have been the outcome.

The Führer had plainly stated in his Reichstag speech of February 20, 1938, that he would protect the thousands of Germans whose homes were outside the frontiers of the Reich. He regarded it as his duty to intervene, made up his mind and crossed the Rubicon. The National Socialist Party in Austria was instructed to act. Herr Miklas, the Federal President, had to countermand the elections and, shortly afterwards, to dissolve the Schuschnigg Cabinet. Its place was taken by a Government under the leadership of Herr Seyss-Inquart—himself a 100-per-cent National Socialist, who immediately applied for the armed intervention of the Reich and thus provided the legal basis for the occupation of Austrian soil by German soldiers. The further developments are familiar to everybody. They took place with a mathematical precision and a rhythmical perfection which astonished the world.

The spontaneous enthusiasm with which the German troops—and, subsequently, the Fuhrer himself—were welcomed by the Austrian people proves beyond doubt that the "independent" republic of Dr Dollfuss and Herr Schusch nigg was dead and that a miracle would have been required to instil new life into it There is no need, therefore, to deal with the arguments of those who—for some reason or other—are dissatisfied with the course of events The general feeling, however, is typically illustrated by the following anecdote then much heard in Germany

A young Austrian girl from the Fuhrer's own home town—so the story goes—one day knocked at the door of his Berchtesgaden summer house Herr Hitler's sister opened the door and admitted her, but when the visitor announced her intention of speaking to the Führer, she thought that her brother would not like to be disturbed and said to the girl that he was asleep As it happened, Hitler had just then entered the reception room and, hearing what his sister had answered, said to his visitor *Der Fuhrer schlaft nicht* He thereupon took the autograph album which the girl put into his hands and wrote into it *Der Fuhrer schlaft nicht —Adolf Hitler*

As regards the politicians of the non German countries, they will have to reconcile themselves to the *fait accompli* and to take note of the change in the map of Central Europe and in the international situation It is certain that a potential cause of war has been eliminated Once people have recognised this, they ought to concentrate their minds upon the new methods necessitated by the new conditions The old prescriptions recommended by the physicians at Versailles, Geneva and elsewhere are of no use any longer, but efforts should be made by the Powers to arrive at a policy of mutually understanding each other's requirements

It may have taken a long time to solve "the Austrian problem," but the solution now found definitely settles it, as it is based upon the most elementary and absolutely inalienable right of every nation—that of determining its own destinies The authors of the events that led up to April 10 and to the creation of the Greater German Reich have triumphed over the selfish and shortsighted policy of those who wanted to obstruct this, the only possible, solution

Certain developments—notably those rooted in racial kinship and a common historical tradition—cannot be prevented by outside interference All attempts made to counteract them are bound to fail and may cause much suffering, much bloodshed, and much enmity The history of Italian irredentism and that of many other struggles for national independence may be cited in proof of this assertion Seeing that a number of European problems are still awaiting their solution the Powers should carefully study the lessons of past experience and apply them to their settlement by diplomatic methods

If they do so, they will confer great benefits upon the world

V.

Population and Race

After having discussed the internal and foreign policies of National Socialist Germany, I intentionally turn for two reasons to the racial problem: firstly, because the solution of this problem is one of the most important from the standpoint of National Socialist ideology; and, secondly, because it has called forth passionate discussions in Press and literature throughout the world.

That such discussions should have been awakened is not surprising, since the new Germany is pursuing a course in many respects without precedent and her aims are in pronounced contradiction to those of other Western Powers. The latter are consequently inclined to regard developments in Germany with suspicion—nay, with hostility—which has invariably been the case with all revolutionary innovations, the veritable nature of which, not less than the motives dictating them, have generally been profoundly misunderstood by their contemporaries.

The reaction produced abroad by National Socialist policy in this respect was all the stronger since it affected first and foremost those Jewish elements in Germany which are united by links of consanguinity and by powerful business interests to extremely influential circles abroad. Thus the fate of the German Jews could not but arouse a feeling of solidarity in international Jewish quarters. Nor must it be forgotten that numerous Jewish elements emigrated from Germany and organised a systematic propaganda against the National Socialist Government. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that world public opinion should not always have been correctly informed concerning the nature and motives of National Socialist policy, nor concerning the situation of the Jews still remaining in Germany.

It is therefore necessary to give here a brief exposition of the matter, where by we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain facts which have been duly established, whilst abstaining from the expression of any personal opinion in this question that has aroused so many controversies, alike from the social and from the human point of view.

The National Socialist Theory of Racial Hygiene

According to the National Socialist theory a race represents a human group distinguished from other groups by physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics *sui generis* resulting from consanguinous relations between its members.

The nearness of the physical relationship *between different races* appears the more clearly in the proportion in which their respective characteristics harmonise with each other Thus the various races living in Europe possess certain physical and intellectual characteristics

Whereas a *race* has a purely biological basis, a *nation* has an historical and cultural significance From the National Socialist point of view a nation is a group of human beings united by ties of blood, by a common destiny, by common ties of migration and language and tradition Hence nobody can be considered to belong to a national community if he or she belongs to a race which has no consanguinous, or cultural, or other relations with the community in question

Within historical times the unity of race and nation has no longer existed The German nation, no more than any other, represents a homogeneous race Yet although all European ethnological elements are to be found in Germany, the common fundamental basis of the German people is constituted by the "nordic" race, which has determined the German national, distinctive character The notion of "nordic" race is not to be understood in a geographical sense, but only by reference to the "nordic" home of the race If we accept this interpret ation, Scandinavian, Dutch, English, and North Americans may be taken as representing other types of the "nordic" race, which may be designed as "Germanic"

The Germanics, in their turn, belong to the great Indo Germanic family known also as Aryans, just as do the Romanic Greek, Slav, and Celtic peoples

According to the accepted teaching of biologists, the qualities of the parents are susceptible of being transmitted by heredity to their offspring Hence children born of parents of the same race will continue to manifest the qualities inherent to that race – i e physical and intellectual qualities which are the natural source of their strength The same holds good for children born of parents belonging to biologically closely related races In this case, also, there is a homogeneity of hereditary transmission which cannot but be conducive to the harmonious and consequently complete development of the descendants

It goes without saying that hybridism, resulting from a mixture of different bloods, must *necessarily produce diametrically different consequences since the* products of such heterogeneous unions inevitably bear the organic traces of in compatible contradictions, both physical and moral This essential disharmony will have the result of depriving them of that energetic will to action, the lack of which, from the standpoint of the interests of the community, cannot but constitute a grave, and, indeed, fatal drawback, whatever the capacities of such persons in isolated details of social existence may be

From the National Socialist point of view the maintenance of racial purity was consequently a *conditio sine qua non of the renascence of the internal strength* of the German nation The primordial duty of maintaining these fundamental conditions, in order to reconstitute a new Germany, was clearly defined by Hitler in the words "the original sin against racial purity marks the end of a human society resigned to its fate" In his book *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote —

"Hybridism, with the resulting degradation of the biological level of the race, was the sole reason of the decadence of all old civilisations. For it is a fact that nations do not perish in consequence of lost wars, but in consequence of the loss of that force of resistance which has its only origin in the preservation of racial purity. For everything which is not racially pure is mere chaff. All events of historical importance have, whether in a good or an evil sense, been the outward and visible expression of the instinct of races either for their self-preservation or their self-destruction."

It appeared necessary to Hitler to take legislative measures in view of the numerical decrease of the German nation, reflected in the diminution of the birth-rate.

Erroneous ideas have, to a certain extent, prevailed in this respect in foreign countries. It is true that the population of Germany from 1870 till 1937 had increased from 42 to 67 millions. But, on the other hand, the birth-rate had constantly diminished, so that an excess of births could only be maintained by a reduction of the mortality-rate—i. e. by a prolongation of the life of the individual. Since, however, the mortality-rate could not be everlastingly reduced, the time would necessarily arrive when the continuously sinking birth-rate would no longer suffice for a relative increase of the population, or even for the maintenance of its numerical level.

In 1900 Germany's birth-rate amounted to two millions in round figures, or about 30 per thousand of the total population; in 1933 to less than one million, or less than 15 per thousand. In France, which is reputed to be a land of diminishing birth-rate, the number of births still amounted at the date in question to 17.3 per thousand of the total population.

Comparing the figures for the birth-rate with those for the mortality-rate during the period in question, it will be seen that already since 1926 Germany had no longer an excess, but in reality a deficit, of births. In 1933 the birth-rate was about one-third inferior to that which was necessary to maintain the numerical level of the German population. If the necessity of increasing that level were to be taken into consideration, the inadequacy of the birth-rate appears still more pronounced.

Should this evolution of the birth-rate have continued, it must inevitably have resulted in a noticeable decrease of the population of Germany. According to careful, and indeed cautious, calculations of the Reich Statistical Bureau, the population of Germany would under those conditions have been reduced to 47 millions in the year 2000.

Energetic measures thus appeared necessary in order to effectively counteract the influence of one of the main biological causes of the gradual destruction of racial strength and consequently of the sapping of the very foundations of the State—namely, of racial intercrossing.

Since the Jews are the only non-Aryan race inhabiting Germany, the racial question in that country is synonymous with the Jewish question. Hence the National Socialist Government adopted a programme which provided for a number of measures destined to separate the Aryan from the Jewish elements of the population so as to prevent an intercrossing of the two races.

This racial, i e Jewish, question found a definite solution in the Law enacted at Nurnberg on September 15 1935, known as "the Law for the Protection of the German Race and German Honour" This Law, which was preceded by a circular issued by the Reich Minister of Education concerning the opening of special Jewish schools, prohibited marriages between Jews and persons of German or other Aryan race Marriages contracted abroad for the purpose of circumventing this law are declared null and void in Germany, and the contracting parties are liable to severe penalties

Sexual intercourse between Aryans and Jews, apart from marriage, is likewise prohibited and the male partner in such cases is liable to similar penalties The Law further provides that no Jewish family may employ Aryan female domestic servants under the age of 45 A special authorisation is compulsory for the marriage of "half blood" Jews and Germans, whilst "quarter blood" Jews are henceforth only allowed to marry Germans

Children born of marriages between Germans and "half Jews" are considered to be "quarter Jews", the children of such "quarter Jews" (who, as already mentioned, may only marry Germans) are defined as "one eighth Jews," who will be regarded as of German race conformably with the "Civic Law of the Reich," to which reference has been made in the second chapter

When the National Socialists took power at the beginning of 1933 there were in Germany 500,000 Jews, 200,000 half Jews, and 100,000 quarter Jews These figures prove how frequent intercrossing between the two races had become within recent years

Reich Minister Dr Frick, who took the initiative in drawing up the provisions of the law in question, stated before the Committee of Experts that educated German youth must be trained to consider as its highest duty to become conscious of the value of the German race and therefore to contribute, by the choice of suitable marriage partners, to a higher development alike of the German individual and of the German family Mixed marriages with persons of alien race must in future be clearly recognised as the source of moral and intellectual degeneracy, as an abjuration of national dignity Respect for family and race must be developed in such a manner that the prosperity of the family, which is the elementary social cell, should appear as an infinitely more desirable ideal than material comfort and riches The Germans should have the courage to shape the biological structure of their nation in accordance with the hereditary value of that structure, and thus to prepare, for the State, leaders worthy alike of its traditions and its future

Decisive measures were thus taken with the object of separating the two heterogeneous races living on German soil

Sanitary Organisation

What may be called the "racial policy" of the National Socialist Government has not been confined to the prevention of racial intercrossing That policy has also taken account of the necessity of creating conditions favourable to

the production of healthy and numerous families The creation of such conditions implies going to the roots of two other causes of the destruction of racial strength—namely, the increase of hereditary defects and the decline of the birth rate With this object in view Dr Frick has progressively applied various measures, of which we will proceed to recall the most important

Since, according to Dr Frick, a new era and a new constructive "demographical and racial policy" can only be inaugurated on condition that the State takes due account of generations yet unborn, the so called "Law relating to Matrimonial Hygiene" was promulgated on October 18, 1935 This Law prohibits marriages between persons in cases where admitted infirmities of one or other or both partners hold out the certain prospect of future unhappiness for parents and children The law consequently provides that in future no marriage may be contracted without the production of a medical certificate attesting the biological fitness of both parties

In order to reduce expenditure caused by the care of hereditarily degenerate persons, and to prevent the reproduction of such persons, a law for the "Preservation from hereditarily diseased posterity," enacted on July 14, 1935, provided for the possibility of sterilising individuals afflicted with specific hereditary diseases The operation can be performed either at the request of the patient or on the proposal of the competent medical authority

This law was severely criticised in foreign countries, where, owing to ignorance of the condition expressly stipulated in it that no decision relating to sterilisation could be taken without the concurrent judgment of the Court and of the medical experts, grave abuses were feared from its application Objections were also raised to the claim of the State to intervene in so decisive a manner in the private life of the individual To this objection the National Socialists reply that sterilisation of an hereditarily diseased person spares the latter the tragedy of seeing his own unhappy destiny reproduced in his children It was further pointed out that the overwhelming majority of persons who have been sterilised conformably with this law have submitted voluntarily and without any constraint whatsoever to the operation

Speaking at the International Congress on Population in August, 1935, Dr Frick stated that "this law has for its aim to relieve not only the present generation, but also future ones, of the heavy burden of disease with its resulting sufferings Hence the law, considered from a moral standpoint, is superior to the law of Christian charity which is restricted in its operation to the living generation "

Dr Frick continued —

"We are reproached with inaugurating a 'racial religion' and with violating by these eugenic measures the Christian commandment of charity If, however, it was not too venturesome to modify the original system of Nature by enabling, thanks to the progress of science, a large number of sick persons to prolong their lives, it cannot be unjust to prevent the benefit which has thus accrued to sick persons from becoming in its turn an impediment for those who have the privilege of enjoying health '

The science of eugenics was, moreover, founded some fifty years ago by the illustrious English biologist Sir Francis Galton

At the International Eugenics Congress in Zurich in 1934, the following resolution was passed after a debate lasting four days on the German law —

"The delegates present, representing the most varied countries, declare that despite the divergencies *between their political or ideological* points of view they are united in the firm conviction that the study and application of the principles of racial hygiene are of vital importance—nay, indispensable—for all civilised countries The Congress recommends all Governments throughout the world to study the problems of biological heredity, population, and racial hygiene, thus following the example already set by certain countries in Europe and America, and to apply for the benefit of their respective nations the results yielded by such a study"

German statistics estimate at about 400,000 the number of persons who ought to be sterilised conformably with the law under discussion The various categories of hereditarily transmitted diseases from which these persons suffer are given as follows congenital feeble mindedness (200,000), schizophrenia or dementia praecox (80,000), maniacal depressive dementia (20,000), epilepsy (60,000), chorea (600), congenital cecity (4,000), congenital deafness (16,000), serious physical deformities (20,000), hereditary alcoholism (10,000)

These purely precautionary eugenic measures were completed on November 24, 1935, by a law directed against *sexual and other dangerous habitual criminals* and provided for the *castration of sexual criminals*

The fact that the preamble to this law stressed "the expenditure incurred by the State for the maintenance of asocial, degenerate, and incurably diseased persons" is easily comprehensible when it is remembered that the State was obliged to spend upwards of a milliard marks annually for that purpose, at a time when innumerable German families did not know where or how to procure bread for their own healthy children[1]

It should be noted that whereas the entire German nation increased by 50% from 1870 till 1936, the number of hereditarily diseased and otherwise degenerate persons increased during the same period by 450%

But such purely negative measures by the State had necessarily to be completed by positive ones

The State loans to newly married couples provided for by the "Law for the Reduction of Unemployment" constituted such a positive measure A loan is only granted to citizens of German blood who are healthy, and only on condition that the future wife, having hitherto been a wage earner, relieves the labour market by her marriage No interest is payable on the loan, which varies from 600 to 1000 marks according to circumstances and which is redeemable at the rate of 1% per month 25% of the loan is considered redeemed for every child born, and amortisation payments may be postponed for a period of one year after the birth of every child born alive The result of these measures was an

[1] In Germany there are 44 homes for cripples 42 homes for general paralytics 123 homes for incurables 213 mental homes 74 homes for mentally defective persons 57 homes for nervous cases 19 homes for inebriates 300 000 persons suffering from physical degeneracy in one form or another are interned in homes belonging to the State The number of aged and infirm persons in 1936 amounted to 713 571

immediate rise in the birth rate 925,000 newly married couples had received loans up till June 1938, and they had produced 825,000 children

The taxation of families, especially of those with numerous children, has been noticeably decreased at the expense of unmarried persons and of married couples without children Similar aims are pursued by the reduction of taxes on newly built small flats and houses for owner occupiers Another decree has rendered possible the granting of pecuniary assistance to large families

It was in the interest of maintaining the peasantry as one of the essential foundations of the German nation that the law concerning the *hereditary tenure of farms* was enacted This law, which reintroduced the ancient German custom relating to inheritance, will be dealt with in detail in the chapter on agricultural policy It may suffice to say here that its object is to relieve rural property of the ever increasing burden of indebtedness and to prevent the excessive parcel ling out of estates It is well known that in other countries the division of rural property on the death of the owner is one of the main causes of the decrease in the number of marriages

Legislation concerning *home settlements* and *working men's dwellings* aims at assuring to families with small means the property of their home amid healthy surroundings outside the crowded areas of big cities

All the above mentioned measures found their completion in a decree pro viding for the unification of the German organisation of hygiene and for the extension of the duties of medical men In every urban and rural administrative district, a Health Office has been established on which the following tasks are incumbent the teaching of the principles of hygiene, the medical care (independently of regular treatment) of all citizens, the treatment of all questions relating to heredity and race, including advice to persons intending to marry In this way, the usefulness of the Health Offices extends beyond the present to future generations conformably with the doctrine of National Socialism which combines solicitude for the sick with racial hygiene in the permanent interests of the entire nation

The decree relating to the medical profession of December 13, 1935, completely modified the former basis of the profession Under its terms both the individual doctor and the entire profession are placed in the service of public hygiene, without the freedom of professional activity being affected thereby The doctor is henceforth to regard himself as being in the service alike of the individual patient and of the entire nation, and as fulfilling a legally regulated public duty The doctor is transformed into a State functionary entrusted with the task of looking after the general health of the community

One of the duties of the newly founded Reich Medical Chamber consists in providing for the existence of a medical corps of the highest moral and scientific value The Chamber is also the custodian of professional honour and exercises the oversight of the discharge of professional duties It superintends the pro fessional education and training of medical men, ensures the maintenance of good relations between them, provides for their suitable distribution throughout

the territory of the Reich creates and controls professional welfare organisations The Director of the Reich Medical Chamber is appointed, and may also be dismissed, by the Chancellor The Director is assisted by an Advisory Council

The hygienic care of the German to day begins in the earliest stages of his life The Hitler Youth has introduced the system of health certificates, and admission to membership depends on the result of a preliminary medical examination All the members of the Hitler Youth are under constant medical supervision, which is continued later in the Labour Service and the Army In the Hitler Youth in the Labour Service, in the Storm and Defence Detachments, in the Reich Association for Physical Training, special attention is paid to physical fitness

Special importance attaches to the medical supervision of workers in the factories, which is entrusted to the Office of Public Hygiene organised by the German Labour Front in conjunction with the Head Office of Public Hygiene of the National Socialist Party In the course of 1936 over 3000 factories were medically inspected, with the result that a number of more or less serious defects in respect of hygienic conditions could be remedied in more than 2000 of them During the same year upwards of two million individual workers were medically examined

According to the National Socialist programme it is not necessary to wait till the worker becomes ill, elementary foresight demands that measures should be taken to prevent illness The duty of taking such measures is incumbent in the first place on the social insurance organisation, the task of which is completed by the various institutions created by the Party and by the Labour Front One of the preventive measures against sickness consists in sending through the agency of the National Socialist Popular Welfare Organisation tired workers (whether brain or manual) to suitable homes for rest and recuperation Other measures are the holiday journeys prepared by the great organisation "Strength through Joy" and the development of sport in all industrial and business enterprises under the aegis of the Sports Office of the Labour Front 660,000 investigations took place in 1936 with a view to enabling workers to enjoy a rest conformably with the above mentioned scheme of the National Socialist Popular Welfare Organisation

One of the principles of social legislation in the new Germany has been to remove women from work in industries to which they are not adapted The National Socialist State refuses to admit female labour in factories merely because such labour is cheap There is of course, a certain amount of industrial work which can only be performed by women but an essential condition is that this work should not be injurious to their health According to National Socialist ideas the primordial duty of a woman is to beget and educate children and manage the household

Youth is the object of special care and attention in all industrial undertakings The guiding principle here is that what matters most is not the actual amount of work performed by young persons, but their spiritual and bodily development with the object of enabling them to become really useful members of the community after reaching maturity

In his speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1937, Chancellor Hitler said: "in addition to the accomplishment of the Four-Years Plan we shall devote all our efforts to rendering the German nation healthier and to increasing its joy of life." There can be no question that the surroundings in which the German worker carries out his daily task to-day are more congenial, because more pleasant, than they were formerly. The German worker is conscious that his labour is an essential part of his country's wealth, and he is also aware that State and Party have set themselves the task of preserving that wealth. Whereas in former days only persons enjoying a certain income could allow themselves the luxury of a holiday in bathing resorts, to-day ships transporting simple German workers cross the ocean, or the worker can travel by rail to the seaside or the mountains or the forest. Whereas in former days the majority of children of great cities never had a breath of fresh country air and their horizon was limited by walls of brick and stone, they can now enjoy Nature in all her beauty. To-day German mothers know that they can give birth to healthy children.

According to the doctrine of National Socialism it is precisely the existence of healthy and merry children which constitutes the best guarantee of the future of the German nation.

Statistics show the favourable results already achieved by the policy we have endeavoured to outline above. The number of marriages increased from 516,793 in 1932 to 740,165 in 1934. It is true that the number fell to 650,851 in 1935, to 611,114 in 1936 and to 618,971 in 1937, but even the latter figure was higher than that for 1929, which had shown the most favourable results since the War prior to the advent of the National Socialists to power. The birth-rate rose from 971,174 in 1933 to 1,198,350 in 1934; 1,261,273 in 1935; 1,279,025 in 1936 and 1,275,212 in 1937—an uninterrupted increase. The surplus birth-rate, which was 233,297 in 1933, amounted to 482,020 in 1937, that is to say more than double.

The National Socialist Racial and Ethnological Policy

The Germans masters in their own house under German leadership: such is the spirit inspiring the home policy of the Third Reich. The German intends henceforth to be the master of his own house to the exclusion of all alien elements. In the words of Frederic the Great, the German wishes "to be happy in his own way." Hence, in Hitler's view, the German Government must see to it that only persons of authentic descent are admitted to exert an influence on the destiny of the German people.

Conformably with this principle, it was necessary that the laws on racial hygiene directed against the Jews should be completed by corresponding measures in the political domain. These measures, of an indubitably revolutionary nature, have been severely criticised abroad, and the hostility aroused by them has not been without entailing perceptible consequences for Germany.

When describing in a previous chapter the general situation in Germany at the time of the advent of the National Socialist Party to power, we pointed out the rôle played by the Jews in the cultural life of the nation. But Jewish

predominance was not less pronouncedly marked in politics, in the economic and financial spheres, in the Administration and the liberal professions—a predominance that contrasted strangely with the proportion of Jews to the total population of Germany, which was about 1% An idea of the preponderance of Jewish influence may be gathered from the number of deputies and functionaries of the Social Democratic and Communist parties belonging to the Jewish race, and the strength of the Jews in those parties, in its turn, was reflected not only in the appointment of Jewish Ministers in the Reich and the constituent German States, but also, and perhaps even more, in the composition of the various Administrations As for the big financial houses, they were more or less completely in Jewish hands, and the vast majority of the members of the boards of directors of the leading banks were Jews Of the 16 members of the Committee of the Produce Exchange in Berlin, 12 were Jews In the medical profession 42% of the total number of its members and no less then 52% of panel doctors belonged to the Semitic race In the legal profession 48% of the barristers and 50% of the notaries were Jews Of 1000 Jews engaged in business life in Prussia, 315 occupied commanding positions, whereas of 1,000 Aryans similarly engaged, only 37 were admitted to such a privilege

These few figures may suffice to impart an idea of the extent to which Jewish influence had penetrated into all domains of life in Germany, whether political or financial or economic or cultural or professional In this connection the hostility aroused in Germany by the activities of immigrated East European Jews, notably from Poland and Czechoslovakia, must be stressed

According to Article VI of the programme of the National Socialist Party of February 25, 1920, "every public function, of whatever nature it may be—whether in the Reich, in the States, or in the municipalities—should be confided exclusively to German citizens "

On the other hand, according to Article IV of the said programme, a "citizen" is a member of the German race (*Volksgenosse*), i e a person of German blood and descent without any reference to his religious faith Hence, says the article in question, "no Jew can be a member of the German race "

It is on these principles that the entire jurisprudence of the National Socialist State, in so far as its racial and ethnological policy is concerned, is based

Paragraph III of the "Law reestablishing the Status of Public Functionaries" of April 7, 1933, provides that functionaries who are not of Aryan descent shall be placed on the retired list An exception is made in the case of officials who had been appointed previously to August 1, 1914, or who had seen active service in the Great War, or whose father or children had fallen on the battlefield A similar exception was made in favour of widows of ex Servicemen A complementary law of June 30, 1933, prohibited the marriage of a public functionary with a Jewess, under penalty of dismissal in the event of disobedience

Other laws and decrees regulated the number of lawyers and doctors admitted to practise in their respective professions The previous enactments, applicable

to public functionaries and relating to Aryan descent as well as to marriage to an Aryan wife, were extended to all members of the Fighting Forces; they were also extended to journalists, artists, musicians, authors, who were henceforth compelled to join the Chamber of Culture[1].

The law of July 14, 1933, concerning "the withdrawal of naturalisation rights and the denationalisation of German citizens" rendered it possible to eliminate from the German national community a certain number of persons who had emigrated after the advent of the National Socialist Party to power and who conducted an active campaign against the Third Reich. Another law modified the prescriptions hitherto in force regarding the acquisition of naturalisation in Germany.

The "Civic Law of the Reich" adopted at Nürnberg on September 15, 1935, of which mention has already been made in the second chapter, while admitting the Jews as German nationals, denies them the status of German citizens and thus excludes them from all participation in the political life of the Reich. Under the terms of this law Jews may in future only hoist the Jewish flag and are excluded from military and labour service, as well as from the National Socialist Party, from the Labour Front, and from all similar associations and institutions.

On the other hand the economic activity of the Jews has only been affected in so far as they have ceased to exert any political influence. Otherwise the rights of Jewish business firms have in nowise been curtailed. The first National Socialist Minister of Economy, Dr. Schmitt, in a speech on commercial morality in the Third Reich declared that a differentiation between Aryan and non-Aryan firms is not realisable in the ordinary course of business.

The Jews have retained not only their schools, but also every other possibility of cultural development. On the initiative of the Director of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Hans Hinkel, the Jewish *Kulturbund* was founded four years ago as an organisation of Jewish artists. Already at the beginning of the winter season 1933/4 the Kulturbund Theatre was installed in the building of the former Berliner Theater, where it gave a series of operas, operettas, and plays, in which a number of prominent Jewish artists took part. Within a short time this Jewish cultural movement spread to other cities in Prussia, and a year later about two dozen local groups of the Kulturbund had come into existence and were displaying marked activity. In Berlin alone upwards of 500,000 Jews visited the theatrical performances, concerts, and lectures organised by the Kulturbund. The latter, together with all affiliated associations, was subsequently merged in a "Reich Union," the control of which has tended more and more to pass into the hands of leading personalities connected with the Zionist movement. The Reich Union counts many thousands of members and gives

[1] It is, perhaps, well to point out that the practical application of these laws has largely taken account of special cases. Thus, in Berlin, 1158 Jewish barristers out of a total of about 3500 (or approximately 30%) and 2549 Jewish doctors out of a total of 6203 (or 41.2%) still continue to exercise their profession.

employment to numerous Jewish artists In addition, itinerant Jewish troupes and orchestras travel from town to town Every opportunity is also afforded to Jews of cultivating their artistic tastes and capacities as *conferenciers*, musicians, dancers, etc , in variety theatres and cabarets Thus a large sphere is open to the development of Jewish art

The Jews enjoy absolute religious freedom, and the resolution passed by the Zionist Congress in Prague in which the German Government was accused of pursuing a policy of religious persecution towards the Jews was entirely unfounded The resolution was probably motivated by the fact that the "Law for the Protection of Animals" prohibited the slaughter of animals according to Jewish rites This, however, does not imply a restriction of the religious freedom of the Jews, who enjoy in this respect the protection of the Third Reich in exactly the same way as every other religious body.

The National Socialist attitude towards the vehement criticisms voiced abroad of the policy of the Reich Government as regards the Jews, may be resumed as follows —

1) If the National Socialist State has taken certain measures to deprive persons of alien race of equal rights with German citizens, this does not signify contempt of that alien race or an attempt to depreciate it Differentiation of treatment is not motivated by the difference of *value* of the two races, but of the fundamental difference of their *respective natures* The new Germany is inspired solely by the desire to purify its own people, to liberate them from the political domination of an alien people, and to develop German national life under German leadership

2) The immigration laws of the United States are based on an evaluation of the different qualities of immigrants according to the countries from which they come, such immigrants being classified as "desirables" or "undesirables " The Immigration Restriction League, clearly recognising the importance of the racial problem, has demanded the prohibition of the immigration of certain specified ethnological elements Australian legislation provides for similar restrictions

3) Other countries have frequently set themselves the same aim as Germany, i e the aim of eliminating Jews or other aliens from public life, and have sometimes succeeded in realising it by different methods, without having recourse to legislation Germany has preferred to accomplish this aim by legislative measures

Individuals affected by these enactments may in some cases be deserving of sympathy, but the sacrifices entailed were, according to National Socialist principles, indispensable and unavoidable in order to maintain the health and strength of the nation and to ensure its future *The interest of the community takes precedence of that of the individual* this is the moral principle at the basis of the National Socialist ideal, and the racial legislation of the Third Reich conforms to that principle

VI.

The State and the National Socialist Party[1]

Chancellor Hitler has not yet given a definite constitution to the German nation. But by virtue of the laws hitherto enacted certain constitutional rules have been laid down. In this connection it may, perhaps, be recalled that England has no written constitution either. The state of things now prevailing in Germany is based on those National Socialist principles which dominate the entire structure of German life as it exists *de facto*.

The basis of the constitutional rules thus established is that the political and ideological direction of nation and Reich is confided exclusively to the Party, which as constituting a political and ideological community and consequently a source of spiritual strength and an instrument of material power is in its turn subject exclusively to the will of the Führer. Whereas, on the one hand, the Party elects the Fuhrer, who is at the same time Commander-in-Chief of the Fighting Forces; on the other hand, the Fuhrer, in consequence of his election, exercises absolute authority over the Party, the State, and the Fighting Forces, all three of which are indissolubly united without, however, losing their personal identity. All three—Party, State, and *Wehrmacht*—have their roots in the united German nation; and their apex, so to speak, is the Fuhrer, who thus becomes the centre of the entire political life of Germany.

The primacy of the Party and its indivisible union with the Reich were proclaimed by Hitler on April 8, 1933, and this principle was subsequently incorporated in the law destined to ensure "the unity of Party and State" of December 1, 1933. In the preamble to this law it is said:—

"After the triumph of the National Socialist revolution, the National Socialist Party has become the representative of the German political idea and is indissolubly bound up with the State. The Party consequently becomes a public corporation, the statutes of which are drawn up by the Fuhrer . . . In order to ensure the closest possible co-operation between the Party and the S.A. (Storm Detachments), on the one hand, and the State and the municipal authorities, on the other, the Führer's Deputy and the Chief of Staff of the S. A. are *ex officio* members of the Reich Government."

Hitler's intention in thus recognising the primacy of the Party was to remove all suspicion of a personal dictatorship. In his afore-mentioned proclamation of April 8, 1933, he expressly declared: "We have deliberately built up an

[1] See also the portraits of some leading men of the new *régime* in the Supplement, *The New Germany in Pictures* (Picts. 2—43).

organisation counting many thousands of adherents, in which there is no dictator And when our adversaries say 'It is easy for you to assert this, since you are yourself the dictator,' we reply no, gentlemen, you are mistaken There is no question of a single dictator, but of ten thousand dictators, each of them in his place"

Hitler had no intention, at any rate at that time, of establishing a difference in rank between Party and State On the contrary, his one idea was to assure unity of action and fruitful co-operation between the two In practice, however, a certain amount of friction has been revealed which has not been favourable to the prompt transaction of State business required by the public interest

During the first years of the new *regime* the Party constantly asserted its claim to sovereignty and became more and more merged with the State It is probable that this development is not yet terminated The developmental process in question has found its outward and visible expression in various enactments A Decree of March 12, 1933, provided that, pending a definite settlement of the question of the national flag of the Reich, the Swastika should be hoisted side by side with the old Black, White, and Red colours The decree in question was completed by the law of September 15, 1935, which made the Swastika the sole flag of the German Reich and nation

Next to the Party, which incarnates the National Socialist ideal as the indestructible pillar of the Reich, is the *Wehrmacht* (i e , the united fighting—military, naval, and air—forces), which represents the nation in arms Both, Party and *Wehrmacht*, are the foundations of the National Socialist Third Reich

According to the National Socialist theory, the nation itself constitutes the basis alike of Party, Reich, and *Wehrmacht* These can only accomplish their respective tasks and attain the goal set them by the National Socialist programme on condition that the entire nation has absolute and unrestricted confidence in its leadership For this reason, Hitler considers the National Socialist *regime* to be essentially democratic

In a speech to the Reichstag, he stressed that whilst people outside Germany are perpetually talking of democracy and dictatorship, "they have not understood that the result of the revolution in Germany has been to establish a democracy in the best sense of the word We are steering towards an order of things guaranteeing a process of natural and reasonable selection in the domain of political leadership, thanks to which that leadership will be entrusted to the most competent, irrespective of their descent, name, or fortune The memorable words of the great Corsican that every soldier carries a Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack, will find its political complement in Germany'

National Socialism clearly differentiates between Democracy and Parliamentarism, two conceptions which are often confounded with each other on the false assumption that the Parliamentary regime is the only possible or legitimate expression of democracy The aim of National Socialism is, by suppressing all political parties, to bring back democracy to its form of "community of the

people" which it had at the time of Pericles. This conception of democracy as an expression of the popular will was confirmed, in the National Socialist *régime*, by conferring on the nation the right of organising plebiscites in order to give utterance to its desires.

Hitler, who is himself of humble origin, leans for support on the masses; and among all European Governments, the Government founded by him is probably that which seeks most to maintain an indissoluble contact with the vast masses of workers and peasants. On various occasions he has consulted the broad masses of the population concerning the policy pursued by him, and has obtained their approbation.

The New Order of the National Socialist Party

The sovereignty of the German nation is henceforth incarnated in the National Socialist Party, as identified with the nation itself. The will of the nation finds its expression in the Party, which is its homogeneous political organisation.

The period of political struggle having been terminated by the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the latter found itself confronted by new tasks which, according to the definition given them by Hitler, may be resumed as follows:—

(1) Internal organisation in view of the creation of a stable, indestructible "cell" for the propagation of the National Socialist doctrine;

(2) Education of the whole nation in this sense;

(3) Appointment to the conduct of the business of the State of those best fitted for it.

The fulfilment of these various tasks required a reorganisation of the Party, especially as regarded the training of the future leaders, conformably with the principle enunciated by Hitler: "that the best National Socialists must begin by becoming simple members of the Party, and that the best members must ultimately be called upon to lead the State."

In respect of training great progress has meanwhile been achieved. A Reich Training Organisation was founded with Dr. Ley at the head; at the present day training schools exist in all parts of the Reich with the aim of completing the psychological and technical education of the future leaders of the National Socialist Party, and of deepening and widening their ideological convictions.

An important step forward in the training of future leaders has, from the National Socialist point of view, been realised by the foundation of special "seminaries" (*Ordensburgen*) at Crossinsee, Vogelsang, and Sonthofen, where carefully selected pupils from all parts of Germany undergo a minutely prepared course of moral, physical, and intellectual education stretching over a period of from two to three years.

After its accession to power the Party necessarily found itself compelled to contribute the best part of its active forces to the service of the State. Even if the men who entered the service of the State still continued to occupy leading positions in the Party, they could evidently no longer place their whole time at

the disposal of the latter. Hence the Fuhrer's Deputy, Rudolf Hess, was obliged to reorganise the Party and to mobilise new elements to ensure the continuity of its development

Past experiences not having proved invariably successful, a number of reforms had to be introduced, and a general clean-up was carried out A system of division of labour was organised corresponding to the main tasks of the Party with the object of suppressing previously existing rivalries and assuring a greater measure of cohesion to the Party as a whole.

The construction of the Party resembles that of a pyramid At the head of the Party is the Fuhrer, who designates the heads of the various departments charged either with the business of the Reich or with the conduct of the multifarious activities of the Party Since the Party is destined to determine the political principles which form the basis of the policy of the Reich, its activity inevitably extends to all domains of public life Thus an "Office for Foreign Affairs" (independent of the Reich Foreign Ministry), a Reich Propaganda Office (personally directed by the Reich Propaganda Minister), a Reich Office for questions of agrarian policy, a Reich Law Office, an Office for the study of colonial problems, an Office of Public Hygiene, an Office for Racial Policy, an Office of Technical Science, an Office for Public Welfare, and various others had to be called into existence To these various organisations should be added the National Socialist Women's Association (*Frauenschaft*), together with the Union of German Women (*Deutsches Frauenwerk*), the Union of National Socialist Students, the Union of Professors, and the groups charged with the formation, the administration, and the *personnel* of the Party

According to the latest regulations every respectable German citizen who has completed his eighteenth year, who is of pure German racial descent, and who does not belong to any Masonic lodge or any similar organisation, is entitled to become a member of the National Socialist Party

The newly received adept of the National Socialist Party is not thereby admitted to any special organisation, but becomes, by virtue of his reception, a "soldier of the German Liberty Crusade " On this occasion he renounces all egoistical considerations and undertakes to sacrifice all his personal interests for the well being of the nation Only under these conditions can he be admitted as a member of the National Socialist Party

Aptitude and preparedness for struggle, the spirit of sacrifice, strength of character, are the essential moral requisites of a National Socialist. What he is able and willing to perform for Germany is the sole criterion by which he is judged, whereby it must be borne in mind that good is *ipso facto* separated from evil provided the *will to good* is proved by conduct and its resulting activity Hence it is not adhesion to old fashioned bourgeois customs and ways of thinking, but soldierly virtues, the essence of which is the attitude which an individual may be relied upon to adopt in the presence of an enemy, which form the condition *sine qua non* of admissibility to membership of the Party

The Party must always constitute the *élite* of the nation. Hence great care must be exercised in the choice of its members. In order to prevent as far as possible the introduction of undesirable elements, a candidate can be admitted into the Party only through the group of the locality where he resides.

The card of membership is remitted to the new adherent by the local group leader at a general meeting of the group. In a short address, the leader stresses the duties incumbent on every member of the Party and also the significance of the oath to be taken by the novice. The latter then takes the oath in front of the swastika flag, his right arm raised in the German salute. The oath reads as follows:—

"I swear fidelity to my Führer Adolf Hitler. I promise to respect and obey him in all things. I promise the same respect and obedience to all leaders whom he may appoint."

Apart from death, membership of the Party can only be terminated by voluntary resignation or by dismissal. Dismissal, which is the gravest penalty known to the Party, can only be pronounced by one of the recognised Party tribunals.

The Commandments of the National Socialist Party.

The Führer is always right.

Never infringe discipline.

Waste no time in vain gossip or in irrelevant criticism. You must, on the contrary, act and create.

Be proud, but without presumption.

Let the programme of the Party be your dogma. It demands your entire devotion to the movement.

You are the representative of the Party and must behave accordingly.

Your highest duty is fidelity and self-abnegation.

Be a loyal comrade; thus you will also be a true Socialist.

Treat your fellow-citizens as you would be treated by them.

Be tenacious and discreet.

Remember that courage does not mean coarseness or brutality.

That which serves the cause of the movement, and consequently of Germany and the German people, is right.

All those who think and act conformably with these Commandments are, according to the National Socialist doctrine, champions in the truest sense of the word of the ideal of the new Germany.

The Storm Detachments (SA.)

The advent to power of the National Socialist Party necessarily transformed the original mission of the Storm Detachments. The latter had been created

in the earliest days of the Party with the object of protecting Party meetings from Communist aggression Under the leadership of Hermann Goring, the first Storm Detachments bore the brunt of an unequal struggle in 1922 and 1923, but were finally dissolved after the suppression of the National Socialist Party in consequence of the *putsch* of November 9, 1923, in Munich

The re foundation of the National Socialist Party on February 25, 1925, after Hitler's release from the fortress in Landsberg, entailed automatically, so to speak, the reconstitution of the Storm Detachments In view of the experiences acquired, it was indispensable to give these newly formed Storm Detachments not only a clearly defined aim, but also an organisation adapted to all the requirements of the coming struggle Hitler deliberately set these Storm Detachments the task of producing fighters fanatically devoted to the propagation of the National Socialist ideology—fighters equally capable of pro pagating that ideology by intellectual means, and of defending it, if necessary, by sheer muscular force

The admirable spirit inspiring the Storm Detachments was proved by the fact that upwards of four hundred of their members were killed and forty thousand injured in the course of innumerable clashes in streets and assembly halls during a bitter struggle lasting over twelve years But the advent to power of the National Socialist Party did not mean rest for the Storm Detach ments Henceforth the duty was incumbent on them of securing the position of the Fuhrer by the complete overthrow of his adversaries The Storm Detach ments developed into an Auxiliary Police Corps with new political obligations, and it was thanks to their spirit of discipline that the National Socialist revolution, conformably with Hitler's orders, was accomplished practically without bloodshed

According to Hitler's instructions to the Party Congress in 1935, the Storm Detachments are to be regarded as the "Volunteer Army" which guarantees the stability of the National Socialist revolution Ideology and personal character of the young German citizen are strengthened by his adhesion to the Storm Detachments, whose mission it is to make of him a champion of the National Socialist ideal The Storm Detachments had the further task of encouraging among their members all soldierly qualities and of developing physical fitness by means of every kind of sport

No less importance must be attributed to the educational mission of the Storm Detachments in respect of those of their members who have already accomplished their period of compulsory military training The duty is prescribed to the Storm Detachments of preserving as long as possible the moral, intellect ual, and physical strength of those members for the benefit alike of the Party, the nation, and the State The spirit of comradeship and discipline is destined, within the framework of the Storm Detachments, to overcome all divergencies which might possibly arise between their members from economic, educational, professional, or other reasons Hence the Storm Detachments constitute a decisive factor in the realisation of the ideal of a national community

A corps of leaders specially selected by their education and professional

training assures the capacity of the Storm Detachments for action under all circumstances. This corps is also called upon to furnish suitable candidates for the leadership of the various political organisations of the Party.

The activity of the Storm Detachments extends to the entire territory of the Reich. They are divided into 24 groups, each of which comprises (1) active units composed of men from 18 to 35 years of age, (2) reserve units consisting of men of over 35 years.

A group of the Storm Detachments comprises from 2 to 7 brigades, each brigade being formed by several active and reserve regiments (or *Standarten*). These regiments have the same numbers as former active and reserve regiments of the pre-War Army. Storm Detachment units belonging to the Navy are named by the numbers of marine regiments or by the names of submarines and destroyers famous in the history of the Great War. Thus the Storm Detachments perpetuate the traditions of the German Army and Navy of pre-War times.

Every regiment consists of from three to five units, each of which is subdivided into three to five sections.

In order to satisfy the numerous demands made upon them in the event of public celebrations, processions, catastrophes, accidents of all kinds, etc., the Storm Detachments have constituted a number of special technical units (scouts, engineers, cyclists, ambulance corps). A cavalry corps (NSRK.) has also been created.

In April, 1937, the *Deutscher Luftsportverband*, including all its sections and sub-sections, was dissolved and superseded by the National Socialist Air Service (*Nationalsozialistisches Fliegerkorps* or NSFK), which enjoys the status of a public corporation. Its leader is subject to instructions received from the Air Minister. Membership is voluntary. It is provided that no member of the NSFK can simultaneously belong to the SA, the SS, or the NSKK.

The Defence Detachments (SS.)

On January 30, 1933, the day of the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, some 100,000 men belonging to the *Defence Detachments* took part in the celebrations in their quality as the Party's crack formation. From that day dates the development of the Defence Detachments, which were originally a section placed under the High Command of the Storm Detachments. They have since assumed dimensions which render them capable of fulfilling the task specially assigned them by Hitler of "guaranteeing internal security" in Germany.

An important milestone in this development was a decree issued in July, 1934, enacting that the Defence Detachments should be henceforth constituted as an autonomous formation of the National Socialist Party.

The 200,000 men forming the Defence Detachments are divided into principal sections, simple sections, and regiments (*Standarten*). Besides these, there are auxiliary units and guards.

Endurance, courage, promptitude of decision, a "bump of locality," physical skill, and a sense of comradeship are developed in the tests organised by the NSKK on their "testing tracks" The result has been a wonderful series of triumphs for the German motor-car industry, as exemplified by "The Day of the German Automobile," the 2,000 kilometre race through Germany, the International Six Days Race for Motor Cycles in the Bavarian Alps, the competitions in East Prussia and in the mountains of Central Germany, without mentioning victories achieved in other international motoring fixtures

These sporting successes constituted the most efficient propaganda for the German motor car *per se* The experience acquired by the leaders of the NSKK in the course of innumerable meetings, whether at home or abroad, have proved invaluable for the German motor-car industry.

Jointly with the German Automobile Club, the NSKK is endeavouring to familiarise public opinion in Germany with the idea of a more rigid road discipline Voluntary compliance with this discipline as it is required by the NSKK of all its members, can alone bring about a change for the better in the existing conditions of road traffic

The Annual Party Congresses

It has always been the custom of the National Socialist Party to organise its demonstrations on a vast scale in order to create the strongest and most durable impression possible, alike on the crowds participating in them and on the members of the Party as a whole In order to produce the desired effect special attention is paid to the methods by which the demonstrating masses are repartitioned and put into movement, to the contrasts of colour, to the harmonious symphony of speeches, songs, and musical recitals The annual Congresses of the Party have assumed constantly increasing dimensions, with the object of presenting, not only to the members of the Party themselves but also to visitors from abroad, an impressive picture of the strength and organisation of the Party

Hitler himself has appointed the ancient historic city of Nuremberg to be the seat of these annual Party rallies Special buildings have been constructed on the vast plain surrounding the town The immense amphitheatre formed by the "Zeppelin Meadow" affords room for upwards of 100,000 spectators to witness the gathering and the various displays of some 150,000 party adherents On three sides the Zeppelin Meadow is surrounded alternatively by towers and stands for the public On the fourth side is the Grand Stand for privileged visitors, immediately in front of which is a platform where Hitler himself speaks

Not far from this meeting place is the far flung Luitpold Arena, with the monument to the German soldiers who fell in the World War 100,000 persons can assemble within this Arena

Since the large hall destined for official meetings is inadequate to meet the demands made on it, a new spacious Congress Hall will be erected, capable of accommodating 60,000 persons Adjoining it will be a concert hall and rooms

for special meetings. Included in the ambitious architectural scheme in view of the annual Party Congresses are the *Haus der Kultur* and the German Stadium. The latter, five times larger than the Zeppelin Meadow, will be the largest sports arena in the world, affording room for two million persons, and containing in addition vast camping grounds and a processional route over 300 feet wide (see Pict. 183).

These few details may suffice to give an idea of the enormous importance attached to the annual meeting of at least 500,000 National Socialists with all their various formations.

The annual Party Congress comprises open-air mass meetings in the aforesaid arenas and gatherings in the Congress Hall. The open-air mass meetings furnish an opportunity to the demonstrators to see their Fuhrer; to listen to his programmatic speeches, and to convey to those at home an impression of everything they have heard and witnessed on these memorable occasions. At the meetings in the Congress Hall the cardinal questions of general policy, of social economy, of culture, and also those problems more directly concerning the Party, are discussed by the accredited representatives of State and Party. Account is rendered of the work accomplished during the past year, and the immediate and ultimate aims of the Party form the subject of debate. Summarising the result of all these debates, a statement made by the Fuhrer, after concisely reporting what has heretofore been achieved, defines the duties henceforth incumbent upon State and Party.

The striking solemnity of the ceremonies with their impressive pageantry corresponds to the magnificence of the surroundings in which they are accomplished. In 1936, no fewer than 45,000 men of the Labour Service took up their position before the Führer after their march past (see Pict. 89). Most of the detachments wore uniforms, but some members were bare-chested, exactly as they were when at work in the country during the summer months. In their hands they held the spade, which is alike the instrument and the symbol of their work.

The leader of the Labour Service, Secretary of State Hierl, advancing towards the Fuhrer who had taken his place on the platform reserved for him, announced the presence of a corps of Labour Service men recruited from all regions of Germany who had come to take part in this great ceremony. Evidently moved, Hitler grasped the outstretched hand of Hierl, and addressed the assembled men with the usual salutation: "Workers, Hail!" (*Heil, Arbeitsleute!*).

The response came unanimously with one single voice which resounded far and wide: "Hail, my Fuhrer!" (*Heil, mein Fuhrer!*) A sort of mystical ceremony then began, interrupted by the beating of drums, the sound of trumpets, the waving of flags, and the Song of the Labour Service, rising irresistibly and triumphantly into space, borne by the voices of 45,000 men.

The gist of the song is that the spade is the symbol of peace, of honour, and of faith; that the divisions which rent the German nation in the past have

may have been expressed by the donors Thus one donor living in India had requested that his subscription should be applied to providing a properly heated room for an unemployed compatriot in East Upper Silesia or in Luxemburg 880 German mothers living abroad were enabled to spend a month in their native country in 1936, and ten thousand German children from abroad were afforded the opportunity of spending their holidays in the Reich

The Foreign Organisation is particularly concerned with the welfare of German seamen The new scale of wages, the introduction of premiums for children, and of the system of Christmas presents, are largely due to its efforts A further result of those efforts has been the establishment of the "Fund for the Victims of Duty at Sea" and the construction of owner occupied cottages for families of sailors An appeal by Herr Bohle on behalf of the Germans in Spain elicited a prompt response, Rm 3 040 000 being subscribed within a few months

The various groups adhering to the Foreign Organisation are familiarised by means of lectures with the ideals of the Third Reich, and are thereby also kept abreast of the latter's achievements Lectures by prominent visitors from the Reich are also organised on the occasion of national festivals, such as the Harvest Thanksgiving Day Some big national groups affiliated to the Foreign Organisation have their own papers and periodicals

The publication of a central organ of the Foreign Organisation is planned Meanwhile the organisation publishes a monthly periodical entitled *Der Deutsche im Auslande*, whilst its maritime section which deals specially with the interests of German seamen issues another one, entitled *Seefahrt ist Not*

Radio and film are bridges connecting the Germans throughout the world with their native country A special short wave service furnishes Germans in the most remote countries with the possibility of listening to transmissions from the Reich Moreover, the Foreign Organisation provides its various groups with gramophone records and with extracts from the weekly reviews of current events, which are shown exclusively to members of the groups

One of the main objects of the Foreign Organisation is to develop cultural and economic relations between the nations With this aim in view it has within recent years organised with the assistance of the German Foreign Office a number of journeys of South American students to Germany, as well as exhibitions in connection with 'The Book Week," which have aroused much interest abroad

The General Congress of Germans residing abroad, in which Germans from all parts of the world participate and which has become a unique expression of German solidarity, is held each year towards the end of the summer in Stuttgart under the protectorate of Herr Bohle On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Party's advent to power, in 1937, Chancellor Hitler created a new post in the German Foreign Office, namely, that of Head of the Foreign Organisation Herr Bohle was appointed its first occupant with the rank of Secretary of State Herr Bohle still remains at the head of the same organisation which is considered a department of the National Socialist Party In taking this decision the Chancellor desired not only to confirm once more the essentia

unity of Party and State, but also to publicly acknowledge the value of the services rendered by one of his most active and intelligent collaborators.

Seeing that certain quarters abroad had misrepresented the aims of the Organisation, Herr Bohle availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the celebration of the Harvest Festival on the part of the German Colony in London (October 1937) of replying to those false reports. The following is a brief résumé of his speech:—

The Germans abroad, he said, have identified themselves with National Socialism exactly as closely as their countrymen at home—a matter which cannot surprise anyone, as all are members of the same race. This result was brought about through activities extending over four years and a half. The object aimed at by the Berlin headquarters of the Organisation was to encourage the formation of regional and local groups everywhere with a view to strengthening their members' love of the old country and promoting the sense of national solidarity. Hence, these groups in foreign countries were nothing but associations of German nationals abroad. No one wanted them to make propaganda for National Socialist ideals in the countries where they were domiciled. All they were expected to do was to ensure that the life of German nationals abroad was pervaded by the same National Socialist spirit as that of their compatriots at home. It was absurd, therefore, to describe the foreign members of the Party as "Nazi agitators" or "Gestapo agents." The truth was that they were strictly forbidden to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of foreign countries. The foreign residents of other countries, too, had their clubs, societies, and associations, and there was no reasons why German nationals abroad should be prevented from doing likewise, as their foreign groups did no harm to anybody.

His (Herr Bohle's) work as Head of the Foreign Organisation attached to the Foreign Office was concerned with all matters that affected the interests of German residents abroad. He desired to make it clear that he concerned himself neither with non-German nationals nor with German national minorities in foreign countries. No one expected that the leaders of the Foreign Organisation who held no position in the consular or diplomatic service should be granted any diplomatic or similar privileges on the part of foreign governments.

From time immemorial it had been customary for people to emigrate and to take up their places of residence in some foreign country. They should not, on that account, be looked upon with suspicion, but should be regarded as mediators between the different nations, as they were eminently qualified to restore mutual confidence and mutual esteem. People who knew the British nation could not help admiring them for their farsightedness and their imposing achievements. Should it not be possible for the two great and proud nations—who had so much in common—to come to a friendly understanding? The Führer had often given expression to that desire; and as far as the Foreign Organisation was concerned, everything would be done to promote that ideal.

VII

Germany's Fighting Services

The reconstruction of the *Wehrmacht*[1] required remarkable statesmanlike qualities, including both tact and energy The accomplishment of the task is one of Hitler's outstanding successes The problem had to be envisaged from two points of view, for it was a problem alike of home and of foreign policy From both points of view the problem was equally difficult to solve, which is easily understandable when the condition of Germany's Fighting Forces prior to 1933 is borne in mind

At that time Germany possessed a *Reichswehr* (Reich Defence Force), the strength of which had been strictly limited by the Treaty of Versailles It consisted of 100,000 men and a few warships, and entirely lacked an air arm Manifestly this force, despite its excellent training and the admirable spirit animating it, was inadequate to the task of efficiently defending the German nation and Reich Faithful to the traditions of the old German Army, the new professional Army occupied an independent situation *sui generis* in the German Republic, since the President of the Reich, who conformably with the Constitution remained outside the sphere of political controversy, was also Chief of the Reichswehr The latter was also destined to play a *rôle* under the terms of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, according to which the Constitution itself could under certain circumstances be suspended—as was the case, for instance, during the summer of 1932, when the Prussian Government was deposed *manu militari*

It was on this twofold basis that the Reichswehr, during the years which preceded the National Socialist revolution, succeeded in preserving an attitude of complete political neutrality This attitude had the signal advantage of guaranteeing the continuity of its own existence in the face of marked hostility on the part of some pacifist groups, and thereby protecting the permanent interests of the nation History teaches us what deplorable consequences may result from the participation of soldiers in internal political struggles—consequences fatal alike to the Army and the nation In this connection, Mussolini's energetic decision, taken by him on the day of the famous march on Rome, when, from the balcony of the Savoy Hotel he bade the officers retire who had assembled in the street to acclaim him, may fitly be recalled The German Reichswehr, in accordance with the wish of its organiser General von Seeckt, became the "iron clamp" that fastened the Reich together Thanks to its

1) The word *Wehrmacht* is used to designate the totality of Germany's fighting forces i e Army, Navy and Air Force Each of these constitutes a branch of the Wehrmacht.

abstention from all political controversy the Reichswehr managed to maintain intact its essentially soldierly spirit, and in the words of Field Marshal von Hindenburg in his political testament, "to remain the symbol and the solid rampart of the State, at a time when it was necessary to lead the German nation, without endangering its existence, through an ordeal composed of oppression and humiliation, of dire distress and self-mutilation."

Hence it was not easy for Hitler, in his double capacity as Chancellor and leader of the National Socialist Party, to alter a condition of things which had inevitably led to the Reichswehr becoming a "State within the State" and to remove misunderstandings which had arisen between the Reichswehr and the National Socialist Party, although the aims of both—the preservation of the legacy of the German ex-servicemen, the struggle for emancipation from the fetters imposed at Versailles, and the abolition of the Weimar system—were in every respect identical.

It was clear that a fundamental *rôle* in the reconstruction of the German Reich had to be attributed to the Reichswehr, which, moreover, had to be transformed from a professional into a national Army. Adolf Hitler proved himself equal to this difficult task, which required quite unusual tact.

Already before taking power the future Chancellor, in a conversation with a high officer, observed that two main duties were incumbent on post-War Germany: namely, the organisation of the National Socialist movement and the re-creation of Germany's fighting forces. In his efforts to gain the sympathies of military circles, his own position as an ex-serviceman undoubtedly proved useful. He endeavoured to assure himself of the support of the Reichswehr in carrying out his project of acquiring power by revolutionary, but none the less legal, means. Only a few days after attaining his object, he took the occasion of clearly explaining his political views to all the higher officers of Army and Navy, and of assuring them of his constant solicitude for the defensive forces of the Reich. Hence he could truly declare in September, 1933: "If the Army had not been on our side in the days of the revolution, we should not be standing here to-day." In his speech to the Reichstag in January, 1934, twelve months after his advent to power, he remarked: "It is a unique event in history that a cordial alliance should have been established between the forces of a revolution and the responsible chiefs of an Army in which strict discipline prevails. This, however, has been the case in the co-operation between the National Socialist Party, of which I am the Head, on the one hand, and the officers and soldiers of the German Army and Navy, on the other. The Army and its chiefs have assured the new State of their unconditional loyalty and support, and have thereby rendered possible the success of our endeavours."

This success is not surprising when it is borne in mind that Hitler is, and has always remained, essentially a soldier. In an article published by the *Völkischer Beobachter* on June 29, 1934, General von Blomberg, who was then Minister of War, wrote: "Closely associated with the entire nation, the Wehrmacht is proud of wearing on its steel helmets and its uniforms the outward and visible sign of the renascence of Germany, and of marching in discipline

and loyalty behind the Head of the State, the Field Marshal of the Great War, President von Hindenburg, *and behind the Fuhrer of the Reich*, Adolf Hitler, who has come from our ranks and will always remain one of us "[1]

An indispensable preliminary condition of this harmonious collaboration will always remain that State and Party confine themselves to the tasks incumbent on them The crisis of June 30, 1934, brought to light efforts which had been made to transfer to other organisations, i e , the Storm Detachments, duties which should be exclusively reserved to the Army Hitler promptly nipped those efforts in the bud

The Fuhrer has made of the Wehrmacht one of the two pillars of the National Socialist State and has solemnly proclaimed that it is the only representative of the armed power of the nation, whilst, on the other hand, the Party is the representative of the nation's political will A definite constitutional basis was thus established for the Wehrmacht, and the separation of the mutual duties and responsibilities of Wehrmacht and Party was clearly and precisely defined

This position of the Wehrmacht found its expression and confirmation in two fundamentally important documents Firstly, in a decree by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, which the latter described as his testament, issued in May, 1934, entitled "Duties of the German Soldier,' in which the "new duties of the German soldier" are succinctly and laconically exposed Secondly, in the oath sworn by all members of the Wehrmacht on the evening of the day when the Field Marshal breathed his last

The precepts enumerated by Field Marshal von Hindenburg should be compared with those enunciated in 1930 In 1930 it was stated that "the Reichswehr is the instrument for enforcing the legal power of the Reich, it protects the frontiers and the integrity of the Reich " In the President's decree we find the words ' The Wehrmacht is the mandatory of the German nation It protects Reich and nation, in other words the German people united in the National Socialist Party, and the German territory "

Hence the legal power of the Reich always subject to variations, was replaced by the legal power of the "German people, united in the National Socialist Party "

The wording of the two documents in question revealed other noteworthy divergencies Whereas the military code of 1930 stated that "the Army serves the State and not any political party," the President, in his aforesaid decree, wrote "Military service is a service of honour for the German nation " In 1930, all the articles of the military code were exclusively based on the traditions of the Army, which were unfamiliar to most persons outside its ranks In 1934, in addition to those glorious traditions, the German soil and German labour were expressly mentioned as sources of Germany's military strength

[1] Since the beginning of 1934 the soldiers of the German Army have worn on their uniform the emblem of the National Socialist Party In the same year large military contingents were seen for the first time taking part, side by side with Hitler's political adherents in the annual Party Congress at Nuremberg

The new oath sworn by the members of the Wehrmacht immediately after Field Marshal von Hindenburg's death reads as follows: "I solemnly swear before God absolute obedience to the Führer of the German Reich and nation, Adolf Hitler, Supreme Head of the Wehrmacht, and I am prepared as a brave soldier to devote my whole life to his service."

The taking of this oath marked the conclusion of the political development of the Wehrmacht, a development of which evident traces can be found before the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. It likewise marked the definite solution of the internal problem created by the position of the Wehrmacht. Henceforth there existed no contradiction between Wehrmacht and Party, but only a parallelism and an obligation of mutual assistance. In the words of General von Blomberg:—

"If the duties of the Party and those of the Wehrmacht are clearly distinct, their mutual confidence is none the less unshakable. We are all working towards the same end. The foundation of our common confidence can only be the National Socialist ideal, since we are all soldiers of Adolf Hitler. A good soldier must also be a good National Socialist... We honour our dead comrades by greeting and serving Adolf Hitler."

After the solution of the internal aspect of the problem of the Wehrmacht, Hitler was at liberty to devote himself to its other aspect—namely, to the problem of the organisation by Germany of her fighting forces according to her own requirements.

A few days after the announcement of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations in October, 1933, the Reich Government proposed in a Memorandum that Germany should be authorised to maintain an Army of 300,000 men. On the basis of a British Memorandum of January 22, 1934, which was presented simultaneously in Berlin, Paris, Rome, Brussels, and Warsaw, direct negotiations in view of an agreement concerning armaments took place repeatedly. The British Memorandum welcomed Hitler's proposals on the ground that they not only dealt with technical questions of disarmament, but also with the question of political guarantees against aggression.

But already on March 17, the French Government, in its reply to the British Memorandum, expressed a number of reservations regarding Germany's proposal. A second note of the French Government of April 17 declared further negotiations on the subject to be useless.

Under these circumstances Chancellor Hitler, in agreement with the Reich Minister of War, determined to introduce the short-service system for the Army, combined with compulsory service. Hence the basis of a new national Army was created. The introduction of the Two Years Service in France hastened Hitler's decision, which was unexpectedly announced on March 16, 1935.

With lightning-like rapidity the German Cabinet enacted on that day the "Law for the Reconstruction of the Wehrmacht" and decided to issue a proclamation to the German nation. This proclamation began by recalling that in November 1918, Germany, confiding in the assurances conveyed in President

Wilson's Fourteen Points, and relying on a reshaping of international relations, had surrendered her arms after 4½ years of heroic struggle The proclamation went on to recall how the German nation had been treated after the Treaty of Versailles, which had imposed on it complete disarmament as a preliminary *condition of the* solemnly promised disarmament of all other nations

Germany, for her part, entirely fulfilled the obligations in respect of disarmament imposed upon her This is proved by the following statistics of the Inter-allied Commission of Control According to these statistics Germany destroyed the following war material 59,897 cannon, 130,558 machine guns, 31,470 trench mortars, 6,000,700 rifles and carbines, 243,937 machine gun barrels, 28,000 gun carriages, 4390 trench mortar carriages, 38,750,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, 16 550 000 rifle and hand bombs, 60,400,000 priming cartridges, *491,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 335,000 tons of artillery cartridge* casings, 23,165 tons of rifle cartridge casings, 37,600 tons of gunpowder, 79,000 cannon bores, 212,000 telephones, 1072 flame throwers, 31 armed transport cars, 59 tanks, 1762 observation cars, 8982 portable wireless stations, 1246 field bakeries, 2199 pontoons, 981 7 tons of equipment for soldiers, 8,230,350 pieces of soldiers' canvas equipment, 7300 pistols and revolvers, 180 machine gun carriages, 21 portable workshops, 12 anti aircraft cars, 11 artillery carriages, 64,000 steel helmets, 174,000 gas masks, 2500 engines formerly used in war industries, *8000* rifle bores

The Air Arm were forced to destroy 15,714 pursuit and bomber planes and 27,757 aeroplane engines

The Navy had to destroy 26 Dreadnoughts, 4 coastal batteries, 4 armoured cruisers, 19 light cruisers, 21 training and special ships, 83 torpedo boats and 315 submarines

Destruction of the following was also ordered Vehicles of every description, equipment for gas warfare and anti gas measures, all kinds of explosives, search-lights, range finders, scientific instruments and optical instruments of every description, horse harness, light railway equipment, field printing presses, field kitchens, workshops, sidearms, steel helmets, transport equipment, special war industrial machinery with accompanying plans, aerodromes etc

After having thus fulfilled, in a manner almost without precedent in history, the obligations imposed on her by the Peace Treaty, Germany had a right to expect that the other parties to the said Treaty would likewise carry out the obligations incumbent on them in respect of disarmament This expectation, however, was doomed to disappointment On the contrary, it soon became evident that a number of States, far from disarming, were rearming New instruments of destruction invented during the War were now perfected in time of peace according to the latest scientific methods Powerful tanks and bombing planes were constantly improved, gigantic guns constructed, new bombs—explosive, incendiary, and gas bombs—manufactured

Amidst these strongly armed States, the mechanisation of whose forces proceeded with ever increasing rapidity, Germany was reduced to impotence

and her security threatened on all sides. It was thus a vital necessity for Germany to insist on the carrying-out of the undertakings given by her former adversaries with regard to their own disarmament.

With this aim in view, efforts were made to realise by means of conferences a general scheme of disarmament. Various proposals to this effect were made, of which the plan suggested by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, is especially worthy of mention. Germany expressed her readiness to accept this plan as the basis of an international agreement. But the plan in question was not destined to mature owing to the opposition of other Powers.

The solemn promise to grant Germany parity of rights, made at Geneva in December, 1932, was never implemented. Hence the German Government, as the guardian of the honour and vital interests of the German nation, saw itself compelled to abstain from any further participation in the Disarmament Conference and, finally, to withdraw from the League of Nations in October 1933.

But even after its withdrawal from the League, the German Government was prepared, not only to examine proposals which might be made by other States, but also to make its own proposals. The rejection of its proposals, as well as the rejection of proposals by the British and Italian Governments framed on similar lines, necessarily led to the conclusion that other parties to the Peace Treaty were not disposed to carry out their obligations under the Treaty. The German Government had consequently no other alternative than to take on its own initiative certain inevitable measures calculated to put an end to the defenceless condition of the German nation, a condition as humiliating for that nation's *amour propre* as it was dangerous for the peace of Europe.

In its proclamation to the German nation of March 16, 1935, the Reich Government stressed that its sole desire was the maintenance of peace. Proof of this had been furnished by the various steps taken by the German Government, such as the proposals concerning non-aggression pacts made to the neighbouring States, the agreement with Poland, and the solemn assurance given to France that, once the Saar question had been settled, Germany had no further territorial claims of any sort on her.

The German Government nevertheless observed to its regret that other Powers were continuously rearming. The proclamation affirmed that the German Government saw in the creation of a Soviet Army of 101 divisions on a peace footing, comprising 960,000 men, a danger which could not possibly have been foreseen at the time when the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up. The German Government further observed that the introduction of the Two Years Service in France had the result of substituting an Army based on a long-term, for an Army based on a short-term, system.

The proclamation continued by asserting the impossibility for the German Government of postponing the indispensable measures for ensuring the safety of the Reich. It was the duty of the German Government to assure to the Reich the necessary means for maintaining its integrity and calculated to contribute to ensure for Germany throughout the world the respect due to her

as one of the guarantors of international peace The proclamation concluded as follows —

"On this momentous occasion the German Government renews to the German nation and to the whole world the assurance of its firm determination that *the rearmament of Germany shall not be directed to the pursuit of any aggressive aims, but shall be exclusively a guarantee of the security of the German Reich and consequently of the maintenance of peace* The German Government expresses its confident hope that the German nation, having regained its national honour and enjoying henceforth complete parity of rights, will make its contribution to world peace in frank and loyal collaboration with all other nations and their Governments "

The law of March 16, 1935, by re introducing compulsory military service, constitutes the basis of the defensive power of the Third Reich It was on this basis that the law of May 21, 1935, was promulgated, the principles enunciated by which were the following (1) Military service should be regarded as an honour by every citizen called upon to accomplish it (2) Every German man is liable to serve (3) In the event of war every German man and woman is, irrespective of military obligations, bound to give his or her services to the Fatherland (4) The Wehrmacht—comprising the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—not only represents the whole nation in arms but is also the great school wherein the soldierly virtues indispensable for the nation are taught (5) The Fuhrer and Chancellor is Commander in Chief of the Wehrmacht (6) Under his orders the Minister of War is invested with the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht

On June 18, 1935, the German Government concluded the naval agreement with Great Britain, which, from the point of view of international law, abrogated the whole of Section V of the Treaty of Versailles During the summer of the same year the first contingent of recruits was mustered, and in November the 1914 class (i e , the young men born in the year in which the Great War broke out) took the oath to the Fuhrer before the new War Standard of the Reich, which is at the same time the symbol of the unity of State and People, of Party and Wehrmacht

Another important action was accomplished in the following year, 1936 By way of reply to the conclusion of a military alliance between France and the Soviet Union, German regiments entered the demilitarised Rhineland zone on March 7, thereby suppressing the last restrictions placed on Germany's military sovereignty In August of the same year, when the Soviet Government further increased the strength of the Soviet Army by reducing the age at which persons are liable to be called to the colours, the German Government decided to introduce the Two Years active service

Under the terms of a decree issued by Chancellor Hitler on February 26, 1935, the Air Force was definitely established as an integral part of the Wehrmacht, along with the Army and the Navy

No account of Germany's Air Force would be complete unless it contained some reference to the general progress of German aviation

It was after the promulgation of this decree, that the German Air Force —the creation of which was the work of Field Marshal Goring, the Reich Air Minister, who had already when the National Socialists came into power commenced the task assigned him, but who had succeeded in keeping its results secret till the end of February 1935—first appeared, openly and officially, on the scene Herr Göring, who had earned the Order Pour le Mérite for his services as air pilot during the Great War, had, with the co operation of his old war comrades, devoted himself for many years past to the organisation of groups of trained aviators among the SS and SA These groups, originally conceived as sporting organisations, were destined to keep alive and stimulate the "flying ideal" in Germany and to prepare pilots in anticipation of the day when German aviation would be liberated from the fetters of Versailles After the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the members of the groups in question were *admitted to membership of the German Air Sports Association* (*Luftsportverband*), the only great Air Association of the Third Reich, whence the majority of them were transferred to the military Air Service

On March 11, 1935, some days before the announcement of the introduction of compulsory military service, Herr Göring informed the *Daily Mail* correspondent, Mr Ward Price, that Germany had created a military air force because her national security implied also security against air raids He then went on to say —

"I have confined myself to the *minimum* required by the necessities of our defence My object was not to create a weapon for offensive purposes against other nations but only to establish an air force sufficiently strong to ward off attacks on Germany at any time"

Herr Göring stressed that the new air arm had been established within the general organisation of Germany's defensive forces Great Britain had subsequently invited Germany to adhere to an international air pact, and Germany had expressed her readiness to place her own air force at the disposal of any country which should be menaced Hence, Herr Goring continued, it was essential to clearly distinguish between civil or sporting aviation, on the one hand, and military aviation, on the other Therefore a number of civil aviators had been taken over by the military air force as soldiers or officers

Herr Goring went on to say that the air force was placed under the supreme command of the Reich Air Minister in his capacity as Flight General [1] The Minister also controlled civil aviation The uniform of military aviators resembled that of the aviators belonging to the German Air Sports Association, but the former wore badges indicating their rank The appointment of air attaches to the German Diplomatic Missions abroad was under consideration

[1] A year later Reich Air Minister General Goring having been promoted to the rank of Colonel General the Secretary of State in the Air Ministry Lieutenant General Milch succeeded him as 'Flight General'

Although, according to Herr Göring, no precise figures could yet be given regarding the new German air force, it must be clear to every reasonable person that Germany, whose geographical situation was particularly vulnerable, had the right to claim a sufficient air force to guarantee her absolute security. For the time being it was not possible to clearly define the part which the air arm would be called upon to play in the total defensive forces of Germany. But it was manifest that without the security afforded by the air force, Army and Navy would run the risk of being rendered powerless.

In reply to a question as to whether the German Air Force would be in a position to repulse attacks on Germany, Herr Göring said: "The German Air Force is just as passionately resolved to defend the Fatherland to the very last as it is firmly convinced that it will never be employed to threaten the peace of other nations."

A few days later, thanks to the introduction of compulsory military service, the Air Force was increased by the inclusion in its ranks of the anti-aircraft artillery. On May 21, 1935, the Air Force was definitely brought within the scope of the new Military Law. On July 17 of the same year the Air Ministry undertook the organisation of defence against air raids and thus assumed the supreme control of all branches of German aviation.

The building up of the German air arm constitutes one of the most astounding feats which National Socialist Germany has achieved. In effect, everything had to come out of nothing. The industry concerned had hardly the shadow of an existence; skilled labour and special mechanics had all been dismissed and the course of time completely divorced from their original calling. The question of a future generation for the industry had to be left open. There was absolutely nothing available in the way of testing gear, development or training. The 15 years start which the world had ahead of Germany in respect to the air arm had to be caught up, as it were, overnight.

But the task which the Führer set has been accomplished through the extraordinary energy of the Chief-in-Command of the Air Force. Today reliable defence squadrons fly over Germany, anti-aircraft guns protect the Reich from below, Information Services and the most extensive land apparatus for signalling and observation safeguard military air activity. At the Party rally, on the Bückeberg, in various divisional as well as during the big autumn manœuvres in 1937, the air arm demonstrated its prowess with justified pride. It is an important factor of national security, to quote Adolf Hitler: "German towns and villages are protected; the strength of the Nation, of the air Arm watches over them."

It would lead too far if we were to attempt a detailed description of the German Wehrmacht in this book, the object of which is to give an idea of the total work accomplished by Hitler during his four years of office. Hence we must confine ourselves to a few indications calculated to give the reader a general view of the military organisation of the new Germany.

The Commander in Chief of all the Fighting Services—Army, Navy, and Air Force—is Adolf Hitler As already explained, the former Wehrmacht Office—then affiliated to the Ministry of War—was made directly subordinate to the Fuhrer and Chancellor in February, 1938 It is now known as the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht and acts as the military staff of the Fuhrer Its head is Artillery General Keitel, the previous head of the Wehrmacht Office, whose status is equal to that of a Reich Minister His official designation is, "Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht " The High Command of the Wehr macht also exercised the functions vested in the Reich Ministry of War Under the new arrangement, its Chief acts as the Fuhrer's deputy in carrying out the duties which used to belong to the Minister of War In times of peace, the High Command of the Wehrmacht constitutes a coordinating body competent to attend to all matters concerning national defence, but subject to the instructions received from the Fuhrer

The Army

The Commander in Chief of the Army is Colonel General von Brauchitsch His staff constitutes the Chief Command of the Army, which comprises five sections Army personnel, General Staff of the Army, General Army Board, Army Administration office, and Army Equipment office

The Army is divided into five Army Groups which, in their turn, are subject to the control of the Chief Command of the Army At the head of each Army Group is a Group Commander in Chief (an Infantry, Cavalry, or Artillery General) assisted by a Group Command The staffs of the Group Commands have their respective headquarters in Berlin (1), Francfort on-Main (2), Dresden (3), Leipzig (4) and Vienna (5)

Each Army Group consists of several Army Corps (High Commands), and at the head of each Army Corps is a General Officer Commanding, who is at the same time the military executive within the Military District concerned The staffs of the High Commands of the various Army Corps have their headquarters in Konigsberg (I), Stettin (II), Berlin (III), Dresden (IV), Stuttgart (V) Munster in Westphalia (VI), Munich (VII), Breslau (VIII), Kassel (IX), Hamburg (X), Hanover (XI), Wiesbaden (XII), Nuremberg (XIII), Vienna (XVII), and Salzburg (XVIII), and those of the Corps Commands in Magdeburg (XIV) and Berlin (XVI)

Each Army Corps consists of several Divisions and certain special formations known as ' Corps Troops " The smallest Army unit composed in such a manner as to make it suitable for independent operations is the Infantry Division Each Division comprises 3 infantry regiments, 1 reconnaissance section, 1 regiment of heavy artillery, 1 regiment of light artillery, 1 anti tank section, 1 battalion of engineers, 1 intelligence section and several additional units In times of war, each Division is enlarged by the so called "services in the rear," i e , the reinforcement services with their detachments and parks, the ambulance services with their ambulance companies and sick transport cars, the veterinary

(5) *Engineering Service.* (Colour: black).—Each Infantry Division is supplied with a partly mobilised battalion of Engineers composed as follows: Staff with motorised intelligence section, 2 partly mobilised companies on foot, 1 motorised company, 1 motorised carriers' detachment, 1 motorised bridge-building detachment, and 1 motorised light engineering section used for a reserve and for reinforcements. Besides the partly mobilised battalions of Engineers attached to the Infantry Divisions there are some that are fully motorised.

(6) *Intelligence Service.* (Colour: pale yellow).—In view of the decisive importance of a good Intelligence Service in times of war, the Army is equipped with separate Intelligence sections connecting the various higher commands down as far as the Divisions as well as with others which serve the purpose of establishing communication between the Divisional commands and the units subordinated to them. In addition to these, the various units are equipped with Intelligence sections serving their own particular requirements. Each regiment, each battalion, etc., has thus been provided with its own Intelligence detachment. The Intelligence Service proper, i.e., the sections of it attached to the Divisional and higher commands, consists of wireless and ordinary telephony companies. Each company comprises several platoons, and each platoon is composed of detachments whose strength ranges between one non-commissioned officer and four men and two non-commissioned officers and eleven men.

(7) *Transport Service.* (Colour: light blue).—The requirements of the Commissariat are looked after by the "rearguard services," including the Transport Detachments. These are either motorised or mounted on horseback. Each detachment consists of several transportation squadrons or motorised companies.

(8) *Smoke-Screen Service.* (Colour: claret).—The Fumigation Service as such has only been established for a short time so far. Each of its detachments is motorised and consists of its staff with an intelligence section and several batteries, subdivided into platoons.

(9) *Ambulance and Veterinary Services.* (Colours: dark blue and crimson).—The Ambulance Service attached to the Army attends to all matters concerning health and sickness, and extends to the Army reserves as well. Each Ambulance section is divided into a number of Ambulance companies, and each Army Division has its own Ambulance section, whose head is at the same time the Divisional officer of health. In times of peace, the Ambulance sections are subdivided into local groups, one for each garrison town. They are subject to the authority of the Army Corps officer of health, who—in his turn—is subordinated to the Army Inspector of Health.

The Veterinary Service plays about the same part in the treatment of animals, more especially horses, as does the Ambulance Service in regard to the human material. Veterinary officers are attached to the staffs of all regiments and other Army units. They are subject to the control of the Veterinary Inspector.

The training of Army officers is effected by the War Colleges and is supplemented later on by that received at the War Academies. The corresponding training institutions for Ambulance and Veterinary officers are the Army

Medical and Army Veterinary Colleges, the Army Medical Academy, and the Veterinary Academy (See Picts 92—96)

The Navy

The Commander in Chief of the Navy is Admiral Raeder, who—at first in his capacity of Chief of the Admiralty Board—has been at the head of the country's naval forces for the past ten years

Conformably with the multiplicity of the tasks incumbent on it, the High Command of the Navy is a complicated organisation comprising the Staff of the Commander in Chief, seven principal offices, and various sections directly attached to the High Command The Naval Control Board is competent in all questions of organisation and training The Board gathers all the most important observations relating to operations and tactics in time of war, as well as all weighty information concerning naval warfare in general and the development of scientific training The Naval Defence Bureau is concerned with questions affecting the *personnel* (such as discipline, leave, transfer, etc) The General Naval Office is concerned with the material preparation of the naval forces It directly controls the shipbuilding yards at Wilhelmshaven and the naval arsenal at Kiel It is responsible for the necessary supplies of fuel and other material and also for the technical conditions in the shipbuilding yards The competence of the General Naval Office likewise extends to questions of typography, naval charts, nautical books, etc, as well as to questions concerning the economic preparations for war, auxiliary ships, and the liaison with the merchant navy The Naval Administration Department is concerned with questions of pay, food supplies, dress, and lodgings The Naval Arms Department is concerned with the progress of arms construction, especially in regard to guns, torpedoes, mines, and munitions in general The Office of the Naval Personnel is concerned with special missions, promotions, dismissals, and affairs of honour among officers Not less important than the other departments is the Naval Construction Department, where the plans for the building of new ships are prepared

In addition to the aforesaid offices and departments, other important sections are under the orders of the Commander in Chief The Naval Budget Section has the task of procuring and allotting the necessary funds, and of deciding all budgetary questions The Military Section is responsible for the working of all technical apparatuses and machines on board the ships The Naval Medical Section is charged with all questions relating to health and hygiene, and the Section for the History of War applies the teachings derived from the experiences of naval warfare in the past

The naval forces—with the exception of training ships and of those vessels required by the authorities for their own experiments—are placed under the orders of the Naval Command, at the head of which is the Chief of the Fleet His staff is occupied with all questions relating to the conduct of the naval forces, such as naval tactics, armament, instruction, the intelligence service,

the details of service on board, and many other things The flagship is the battleship *Admiral Graf Spee*, stationed at Kiel, on board which the necessary rooms for the staff of the fleet have been prepared The armoured ships are united under the orders of the Commander in Chief armoured ships At present the division comprises the armoured ships *Admiral Graf Spee*, *Admiral Scheer*, and *Deutschland*[1]

Cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boads, speed boats, and minesweepers are placed under the orders of the Commander in Chief of the reconnoitring naval forces In addition to the flagship, the cruiser *Nurnberg*, the cruisers *Leipzig*, *Koln*, and *Karlsruhe* belong to this division, which also comprises the destroyer divisions on active service as well as several torpedo boat flotillas

Subject, as stated above, to the supreme authority of the Commander in Chief of the reconnoitring forces, the destroyers, torpedo boats, and speed boats are placed under the command of the Chief of the torpedo boats, while the minesweepers have their own Chief

The submarines are commanded by the Chief of the submarines who in his turn is under the direct orders of the Chief of the Fleet

The armoured ships and cruisers are distributed between the two principal naval ports of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven The destroyers and torpedo boats are stationed at Wilhelmshaven, Pillau, and Swinemunde, the minelayers and minesweepers at Kiel and Cuxhaven The submarines also have Wilhelmshaven and Kiel as home ports, whilst speed boats are stationed only at Kiel (see Picts 99—102)

The entire coastal defence and the Land Marines are placed under the control of the Naval Commands of the Baltic and North Seas at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven respectively These two authorities correspond to the General Commands of the Army and have Admirals at their head

The building of new units, which was started after the conclusion of the Anglo German naval understanding on June 18th, 1935, was continued last year, and was provided with a new basis under the terms of the 1937 naval agreement

The Anglo German and Anglo Russian bilateral agreements corresponding to the London naval treaty of 1936 concluded between Great Britain, the United States and France, came into force on July 17th, 1937, when the contracting parties signed the documents concerned They constitute an important contribution towards the limitation of naval armaments Germany, more particularly, gave evidence of her sincere desire to effect such a limitation, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by signing the 1935 naval understanding and the 1936 naval treaty

On October 3rd, 1936, the battleship *Scharnhorst*, of 26,000 tons, was launched from the Reichswerft, to be followed on December 3rd, 1936, by the launching of

[1] The vessels of the *Deutschland* class are officially known as 'armoured ships as they are not fast enough to be called cruisers and not robust enough to be called battleships

and the demands made upon it have been fully complied with Its requirements link it up with the second of the great schemes entrusted by the Fuhrer to Herr Goring the Reich Air Minister, in connection with the Four-Years Plan The important steps taken by the latter for the purpose of making Germany's supply of raw materials less dependent upon the resources of foreign countries will prove of great benefit to aircraft manufacturers also

Air Raid Precautions

The measures required in connection with A R P have an important bearing upon all departments of public administration, upon town and country planning, the supply of water, gas and electricity, and the construction of traffic highways on land and water, as the Reich Air Minister has repeatedly stressed in his various public addresses Accordingly, the Air Raid Precautions Law of June 26th, 1935, together with the regulations governing its practical application which were issued on May 4th, 1937, gives great prominence to the National Socialist axiom concerning the indissoluble community of interests between the nation and the State It makes it incumbent upon all public administrations and undertakings that are in some way or another concerned with the matter, to cooperate with one another under the guidance of the Reich Air Minister, and it also provides that all German citizens are obliged to give whatever personal and material assistance may be necessary, "including all active and passive measures required to ensure the effectiveness of the A R P schemes"

It is, of course, impossible to give precise figures concerning the strength of the Wehrmacht, with the exception of the Navy, the strength of which is known conformably with existing international agreements But it is nevertheless possible to observe that, in the opinion of experts, the German Wehrmacht is undoubtedly equal to its task of guaranteeing the security of the nation and of warding off any attack whether on land, on sea, or in the air, but that it is insufficient to embark on any war of conquest or any adventurous undertaking

In 1914 Germany had the strongest Army in the world and a Navy capable of successfully encountering the most powerful fleets of other nations But this vast military and naval organisation was the result of forty three years of peace, which had brought prosperity to the country in every domain To day the new Germany has had only five years' time within which to create its defensive forces, a labour rendered all the more difficult by the almost total collapse which followed the World War It is true that modern technical science renders it possible to construct arms much more rapidly than in former times, and that the capacity of production, whether quantitative or qualitative, of German industry is consequently much greater in this respect But the moulding of human material, and notably of the corps of officers and non commissioned officers, requires a certain time, especially if, as is the case in Germany, no trained reserves are available In any event the astronomical figures published in a section of the foreign Press are exaggerated

One thing is certain the extent and rapidity of the reconstruction of Germany's military power during the past five years have been extraordinary At the

beginning of 1933 the German Army of 100,000 men had to employ cardboard tanks and wooden heavy artillery. To-day a much larger Army is equipped with all the most modern arms. Five years ago the Army consisted of seven infantry and three cavalry divisions; to-day there are eighteen Army Corps, to say nothing of the necessary fortifications and well organised supplementary formations. Five years ago the German Navy boasted but very few ships and no submarines; to-day it already comprises, or will shortly comprise, all categories of warships. Five years ago Germany was exposed to the danger of air raids without any possibility of defence; to-day Germany possesses a powerful air fleet and adequate means of protection of her civilian population against aerial bombardments.

To-day the German nation knows that its frontiers are secure and that its Government is in a position to carry out a foreign policy on the basis of parity of rights with all other great Powers.

VIII

Social Policy and Labour

The conception of a social policy, the aim of which is to ensure social peace within the entire nation—which is consequently not restricted in its application to the working classes only—has recovered its original meaning in contemporary Germany From the National Socialist standpoint, this policy necessarily includes the peasantry, who had hitherto been left outside the scope of social reforms Social policy as thus conceived is to a large extent determined by economic factors, since it is impossible to imagine satisfactory social conditions without the preliminary consolidation of the general economic situation

The truth of this affirmation is proved by the fact that it has been possible in Germany to practically suppress unemployment by imparting a new impulsion to economic life Complete harmony of aims of social and economic policy has been substituted for the antagonism which formerly divided them The tendency of this harmonising of aims is to promote understanding between the different classes of the population and therefore to assure social peace

All the former enactments of German legislation concerning workers and conditions of labour—a legislation which set an example to the world—have not only been retained under the National Socialist regime, but have been improved and brought up to date Henceforth the State does not content itself with fixing a scale of wages or limiting the hours of work, but has extended the protection of the workers by a series of measures concerning hygiene, holidays, the rational utilisation of after work leisure time, etc In order to protect the health of the worker, a general programme including the creation of settlements and working men's dwellings has been drawn up

In his world renowned book *Mein Kampf* Hitler has stated that Social Policy is not intended to grant favours, but to establish rights, so that it cannot put forward a claim to gratitude He also says that the "nationalisation" of a people must include, as one of its essential features, the provision of healthy social conditions, because they alone are the foundation on which it becomes possible to educate the individual

These remarks of the Fuhrer are a measure of the greatness of the tasks which Social Policy has to fulfil in the National Socialist State Its ultimate object is to make social justice prevail Hence, it must start by creating a socially-conceived regime of Labour as the basis of the national regime as a whole Such a regime of Labour must strictly conform to the supreme political aim, i e the maintenance of national solidarity

There is no field of human activity in which the principle of solidarity is applicable with greater force than the social domain, as it is there that the mutual relations between the workers (using that term in its widest sense) and the relations between the workers and the community are given their practical shape. The ethical demand implied in this statement must find expression in every act of social legislation. The laws designed in conformity with the community ideal cannot be adequate nor can they be adequately administered unless they reflect that ideal without a compromise. The Führer has intuitively responded to the profound desire animating every German worker that the ethical aspect of Labour should at last receive due recognition and that all work—manual work and brain work alike—should be appreciated once more from the idealist's point of view.

One of the main reasons why the German workers gave their ready consent to the new Constitution of Labour—which, as we shall see, came into existence when the National Labour Act (*Gesetz zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit*) was promulgated by the Third Reich—was that it restored to them their human dignity and that it acknowledged the equality of their status with that of the other sections of the nation. Ever since the advent of the industrial age, manual labour had been looked upon as a commodity that could be bought and sold; but the introduction of the concept of "social honour" has done away with that illusion. Social honour recognises no distinction between the employer and the employed. All of them work for a common purpose and are entitled to equal honour and to equal respect. The provisions of the National Labour Act by which the employer is required to look after the welfare of the workers, whilst the latter are enjoined to be loyal to him, are a revival of a code of honour—not in a vaguely romantic sense, but with the force of a real obligation—that had long been forgotten. The decree issued on December 3, 1937, by Field Marshal Göring, the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan, concerning holidays (i.e. public holidays) with pay, proves that the Government is fully conscious of the debt of gratitude it owes to the German workers and that it is firmly resolved to redeem it by its social legislation.

Many different tasks have to be accomplished which in practice are closely correlated because they all tend to a common object: namely, the welfare of the nation and of the State. It must not be forgotten that Germany is today a national State, founded on mutual relations of confidence and loyalty between citizens and Fuhrer. The concepts of nation and State are merged in each other, since the existence of the State is conditioned by that of the nation. The duty is consequently incumbent on the State of ensuring a homogeneous development of its social policy and of all the other branches of national activity. It must not only seek to procure employment for the individual and regulate the conditions of this employment. It must also attend to the personal welfare of the worker and provide for his recreation.

The Reich Ministry of Labour is entrusted with the carrying out of these tasks jointly with the Reich Ministry of Finance, the Reich Ministry of Economy, and the German Labour Front. The Reich Ministry of Labour is the supreme

authority in all social matters and is divided into four principal departments with the following competencies:—

I. General matters; administrative organisation of the Ministry itself and its subordinate branches; relief work; medical work, more especially in connection with relief work.

II. National insurance; public welfare; international and foreign social policy; labour market and labour exchanges; distribution of labour; provision of labour; unemployment benefits.

III. Protection and supervision of labour, including factory hygiene and the medical supervision of factories; labour legislation; social constitution; economic policy, including wages.

IV. Settlements, housing problems, and town-planning.

In addition to the foregoing, the scope of the Ministry's activities extends to a number of other bodies and authorities connected with the administration of social matters, such as the Reich Insurance Board, the Reich Relief Court, the Reich Trustees of Labour, the Labour Protection Museum, the offices dealing with relief matters, the Reich Institution for Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, the Reich Institution for Employees' Insurance, the Reich Institution of Miners' Pensions, the regional insurance institutions, the organisations of the Accident Insurance Board, the Seamen's Sickness Insurance Fund etc.

The Battle of Labour

When Hitler took office in January, 1933, the number of *employed* in Germany had fallen to 11,5 millions whilst the number of *unemployed* had risen to over seven millions—who, together with their families, represented nearly one-third of the total population. Unemployment relief cost the State 3.15 milliard marks *per annum*, whereas the revenue from taxation had been reduced to 6.6 milliards.

The last Governments of the old régime had endeavoured to combat unemployment by extensive measures destined to procure work for the masses. The Government programme of August 19, 1932, provided 2 milliard marks for this purpose, the programme of January, 1933 (immediately before the collapse of the régime) 2.7 milliards. The success of such an ambitious programme depended, however, on two things which the Governments of the Weimar régime conspicuously lacked: namely, a united leadership and the unanimous support of a broad mass of the nation. Without the organised concentration of all the national forces, which was first rendered possible by the new State, and without the absolute confidence of the nation in its leaders, no really comprehensive policy of social reform and amelioration could hope to be successful.

The measures taken by the National Socialist Government to fight unemployment can be conveniently catalogued under four headings:—

(1) Immediate procuring of work by the placing of supplementary orders in the domain of public works and undertakings;

(2) Indirect procuring of work with the help of public funds and by a reduction of taxation with the aim of encouraging private initiative;

(3) Encouragement to work by means of State contributions and reduction of taxation;

(4) Diminution of the offer of labour, consequently of competition on the labour market, by the incorporation of workers in the fighting and labour services, and their resulting withdrawal over a number of years from active economic life. Thus some 500,000 young men are at present mobilised in the labour camps alone. The performance of duties within the various National Socialist party organisations also accounts for the withdrawal of numerous potential competitors from the labour market.

The "Reinhardt programme" (thus named after its author, the Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry of Finance Fritz Reinhardt) of June 1, 1933, which provided for the emission of "Labour Treasury Certificates" to a total amount of one milliard reichsmarks for the carrying-out of various works of public utility, was destined to serve the first of the above indicated purposes. The Reinhardt programme had mainly in view the reparation or completion of public buildings and private houses, of roads and bridges; the regulation of rivers; the construction of ports and canals; and other works which, although chiefly profitable in the first instance to the building trade, would nevertheless have a stimulating effect on economic activity in general. This assumption proved correct. The re-employment of many thousands of jobless workers contributed to increase the purchasing power of the masses, thereby augmenting the sale of articles of food and other necessities of daily life. This, in its turn, afforded the possibility of creating further work.

When Hitler took office, only 302 million marks provided by the Government programme of August, 1932, and only 600 millions provided by the programme of January, 1933, had been spent. Hence by far the greater part of the sums appropriated by the two programmes in question was still intact and at the disposal of the new National Socialist Government. In addition, the new Government immediately issued bonds totalling 360 million marks to help carry out its social programme.

Then came the great programme of the Reich motor-roads, entailing an expenditure of 3½ milliard marks distributed over a period of from six to seven years; a vast plan of railway construction, involving an expenditure of about one milliard marks; a Post Office Extension programme; and a programme of public emergency works urgently demanded by the Reich Institute for Unemployed Insurance. The total sum appropriated for the purpose of the direct creation of work amounted at the end of 1935 to 5,518 million marks.

The Reich motor-roads scheme provides for the construction of roads extending over a distance of 7,000 kilometres. Over 100,000 persons have thus found

employment for several years, whilst many thousands of others have also found work thanks to the various industries which have sprung up in connection with the gigantic undertaking The whole scheme is due to the personal initiative of Chancellor Hitler, who only a few days after taking office in 1933, proclaimed the necessity of "mechanisation " A direct result has been an immense development of the motor-car industry in Germany.

Such large appropriations for the creation of work could not, of course, in view of the unfavourable situation of German economy, be obtained by means of taxes or loans They had consequently to be raised by means of bills of exchange Every firm which was in receipt of an order from the State was given a bill of exchange on a financial institute designed for this purpose by the Reich[1]. The Reichsbank, in its turn, expressed its readiness to re-discount these bills, whilst the Reich undertook the obligation of paying all the costs of the transaction and of gradually redeeming the bills.

This ingenious scheme, which had the advantage of taking into account the possibilities of the money and investment markets, and which adapted the indispensable extension of credit to the capacities of German economy, rendered it possible to avoid disastrous financial upheavals, despite the immense-scale displacements of money inevitably caused by the Reich's labour programme As a matter of fact the amount of money in circulation was only increased to the extent of 250 million marks

A second method for increasing the demand for labour consisted in its indirect creation In this connection should be mentioned the encouragement given to private initiative in the shape of contributions towards the costs of reparation or reconstruction of houses, and the reduction of taxation in the case of new buildings

All encouragements in the aforementioned shape of State contributions or reductions of taxation pursue the aim of creating work and developing the sentiment of cooperation. On May 1, 1933, the first National Socialist Labour Day, Hitler in a speech to the assembled multitudes on the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin, said "German People, you may believe me that the problem of procuring work cannot be solved by mere star-gazing You yourselves must contribute to its solution Knowing the facts, and inspired by confidence, you must do everything possible to create work. Every employer of labour, every house-owner, every business man, nay, every individual has the duty of contributing as best he can to create work And it is the duty of everyone to think, first and foremost, of the German workman "

[1] The leading financial institute of this kind was the now dissolved ' German Society for Public Works,' at the disposal of which 1257 million reichsmarks were placed conformably with the Reich Government's labour programme The granting of credits for agriculture was confided to the ' Deutsche Rentenbank Kredit Anstalt, for dwellings and urban settlements, to the ' Deutsche Bau und Boden Bank." Loans for rural settlements were made, on behalf of the Reich by the ' Deutsche Siedlungsbank."

The indirect creation of work, in the forms indicated above, likewise necessitated considerable expenditure. The second Reinhardt programme of September 21, 1933, provided for the appropriation of 500 million marks as a contribution by the State (limited, however, to one-fifth of the total costs involved) towards the expenses necessitated by the reparation and reconstruction of dwelling-houses. House-owners desirous of transforming big apartments or business premises into small flats were repaid half their costs by the Reich. On the other hand, the purchase of new material, of machines, of professional apparatuses, etc., was encouraged by reductions of taxation.

The encouragement of the sale of motor-cars by reduction of taxes for the benefit of buyers of new cars enters into this order of ideas, as well as the reduction of taxes on sales for the benefit of wholesale trade. This measure affords greater facilities for wholesale traders to replenish their stocks and enables them to regulate the distribution of their orders to industry. A similar aim is pursued by the exemption from taxation of small dwelling units and owner-occupied cottages.

The German Railways and German inland shipping declared their readiness to transport at reduced rates material destined for the creation of work.

The reproach of favouring private speculation was levelled against the Reich Government. Chancellor Hitler, who is exactly informed concerning the effects of his policy, declared in this connection that the National Socialist Government "was on principle determined to make no presents to industrial or other undertakings, but to take advantage of all available means solely with the object of adapting them to the purpose of a practical and positive creation of work ... The initiative taken by the State pursues exclusively the aim of awakening private initiative and thereby of slowly restoring economic activity."

The National Socialist labour policy has never profited by any financial assistance from the State. If the State advanced a sum of 500 million marks, this advance had the result of mobilising two milliard marks of private capital for private enterprises, half of which took the form of wages to previously unemployed persons, so that the State finally economised 300 million marks on unemployment relief. On the other hand, the re-employed workers were able to pay taxes and their social contributions, thus enlarging the basis of taxation of their employers. The net result being to enable the State to recover the money advanced by it with a considerable profit.

It is curious that Germany—the land of machines *par excellence*—should have been reproached with "sabotaging" mechanisation because a law had been passed which provided that in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes "no more machines for rolling and enveloping purposes are to be installed henceforward and that disused machines of this description must not be put in service again." The range of this law was limited to production for the German domestic market. The inscriptions "Packed by hand" and "Packing-by-hand supplies bread for German workers" emphasised that the law had been instrumental in providing work for thousands of unemployed. Seeing that one h.p. equals four-and-a-half times the work done by one person, this return to a former

practice was bound to relieve the labour market. Other countries followed the German example; and some leading political economists stressed the view that excessive mechanisation may be responsible for some of the aspects of the world-wide economic crisis.

Since 1936, however, unemployment in Germany has been replaced by a certain shortage of labour, so that the temporary expedient just described has been abandoned again and machines are once more used for the purposes named. The speech delivered by Hitler on February 20, 1938, has an interesting bearing on this subject.

"The increase in births alone," he said, "will force us to augment the volume of our production, so that the nation as a whole can obtain the means it requires for its subsistence. In 1933/34 we found ourselves not infrequently obliged to resort to rather primitive methods of production, as this was then the only possibility of utilising the available supply of labour. Spades and shovels were the tools employed by hundreds and thousands of German men. But the more our economic activities expanded, the more could we adjust ourselves to other methods. To-day Germany suffers from a lack of skilled labour. Unemployment as such has practically disappeared. We now enter upon a new phase of industrial production. The time has come for gradually discarding primitive methods and having them superseded by improved ones, notably by those of greater technical perfection. Our goal must be to relieve the highly efficient German worker of the more primitive tasks and to set him to do work that makes higher demands on his skill. The more primitive processes can then be performed by the machines turned out by our high-grade labour."

As regards the third method for the creation of work mentioned above, i. e., the encouragement to work by means of State contributions and reduction of taxation, agriculture has greatly profited by the assistance temporarily furnished by upwards of 160,000 young unemployed persons from the big cities, who thanks to the advances made by the Reich Institute for Unemployed Insurance have been sent to work in the country, where they have become familiarised with the conditions of peasant life.

A large number of women and girls have also found employment in households, owing to the reduction of taxation granted to householders on this account. Domestic servants are exempted from contributing to the Unemployed Insurance Fund, and they further benefit by a reduction of their contributions to the Disablement and Old Age Insurance Funds.

We come now to the fourth point of the programme to combat unemployment—namely, the diminution of the offer of labour by the withdrawal of workers from active economic life. This aspect of National Socialist policy was not determined mainly by considerations relating to the creation of work but by considerations of a political, demographical, and educational nature. Nevertheless this policy has powerfully contributed to the suppression of unemployment.

An important measure from this point of view was the encouragement of marriages by the granting of loans to young married couples on the condition that

the wife should herself have been a worker prior to her marriage, and that by reason of her marriage she abandons her occupation. The result of this measure was that hundreds of thousands of female workers were restored to their proper sphere in the family, and were replaced by other unemployed women or by men. It should also be mentioned that the furniture industry received a great impetus thanks to the loans to newly married couples.

The Army and the Labour Service retain within their ranks many hundreds of thousands of young persons who would otherwise be competitors seeking work on the labour market.

Even the severest critics of Hitler's policy cannot deny the success achieved by the National Socialist Government in its fight against unemployment, which has been appropriately called the "Battle of Labour." In this respect, the figures are incontestable. The number of unemployed, which totalled 6,014,000 when he took office, has meanwhile been reduced to 338,000. Of these, over one-half is accounted for by the normal changing of jobs, whilst the remainder is more or less incapable of employment. Hence it can be asserted without exaggeration that the evil of unemployment has practically disappeared in the new Germany.

It is interesting to observe that since January, 1933, the number of employed workers has risen from 11,500,000 to 20,400,000, which means that, besides some 5,500,000 persons until then unemployed, more than 3,000,000 additional workers have been able to find employment. The average number of hours of work per day has increased from 7.26 to 7.86. The national income, which amounted to Rm. 45,300,000,000 in 1932, totalled Rm. 68,000,000,000 in 1937—an increase of more than Rm. 23,000,000,000. That part of this income which represents wages amounted to Rm. 5,900,000,000 in 1933, but exceeded Rm. 12,000,000,000 in 1937.

Expenditure on unemployment relief decreased from Rm. 3,200,000,000 in 1932/33 to about Rm. 300,000,000 in 1937/38, or by about 90 per cent. Revenue derived from taxes, excluding rates, amounted to Rm. 13,960,000,000 in the 1937/38 fiscal year, which is about Rm. 7,310,000,000 more than the figure for 1932/33—a result which was achieved despite the reduction of various taxes intended to promote the creation of work.

Number of Employed and Unemployed (1932/36)
(Mean Annual Figures)

Year	Employed	Unemployed
1932	12,580,000	5,602,000
1933	13,080,000	4,804,000
1934	15,090,000	2,718,000
1935	15,949,000	2,147,000
1936	17,190,000	1,550,000
1937	18,250,000	875,400

He prefers to improve the conditions of life of the worker, not only by giving him employment, but also by ameliorating his general situation. Thus, under the Hitler régime, the worker gets more holidays and more leisure time, and he can reasonably hope to have his own home, for himself and his family. Hitler also desires that employers should be encouraged to supplement the fixed salaries and wages of their employees by voluntary contributions of various kinds, such as: allowances in special emergencies, e.g., in the case of deaths; sickness allowances; supplementary sick relief; lying-in and childbed allowances; marriage grants; anniversary gifts; facilities for coal and potato storage; end-of-year bonuses; share in profits (which may take the form of Christmas gifts); compensation payments for lost working hours and for public holidays exceeding the amounts fixed by law; allowances or wages adjustments to employees called up for service with the defence forces or for taking part in public celebrations, courses, etc., arranged by the Party or its organisations; encouragement of "Strength through Joy" tours or other KdF. schemes; holiday allowances; wages additions graded according to the size of the family; supplementary children's allowances; encouragement of educational opportunities, more especially for the children of employees, etc.

The stability of the wage level has been maintained throughout, in so far as the wages fixed by tariff regulations are concerned. In a few cases, however, an increase of the wage level was brought about owing to increased production, longer working hours, and higher pay for piece-work. The shortage of trained specialists and the increased demand for workers in general due to the operation of the Four-Years Plan are bound to exercise a similar effect for some time to come. Adjustments have also been made in some industries where wages were below the standard.

The partial differentiation made in the scale of wages has given rise to certain social tensions, the elimination of which is one of the objects aimed at by the second Four-Years Plan. Conditions being particularly buoyant in the building trade and in the metal-working industries, it has become necessary to impose a few restrictions upon the free flow of labour, but these are looked upon as being of a temporary nature only. In June 1938, the Reich Trustees of Labour were empowered to prevent an exaggerated or undesirable development in individual instances also. A much more effective method, however, of counteracting the tensions referred to is that of revising the works' regulations in conformity with the principle: "The better the work, the higher the wage."

The German Labour Front

In addition to the creation of labour, the National Socialist Government had another task to perform: namely, that of the organisation of the workers.

Just as from a political point of view the German nation was divided into a number of warring parties; a chaotic body of labour syndicates (trades unions) and other organisations of all kinds professed to represent the interests of the working classes. Such a situation was diametrically opposed to the National Socialist

ideal of national union and class solidarity Hence the National Socialist Government, immediately after its advent to power, did not hesitate to take the necessary steps for the unification of the various workers' organisations This decision was also inspired by political reasons, since the labour syndicates, three months after the National Socialist revolution, still represented an instrument—in fact, the only surviving instrument—at the disposal of the adversaries of the new regime Consequently the leader of the Reich Labour Organisation of the National Socialist Party, Dr Robert Ley, was entrusted by Hitler about the middle of April, 1933, with the duty of preparing the way for the absorption of the labour syndicates in the National Socialist organisation Hitler reserved to himself the right of fixing the exact date of this event, and it was only on April 30 that he informed Dr Ley that the absorption would take place on May 2, i e , the day following the first National Labour Holiday The various Party services were informed of this decision by special couriers

On May 1, 1933, one of the greatest popular demonstrations ever witnessed in history took place in Berlin Already at nine o'clock in the morning 120,000 young people in uniform, with their flags showing the National Socialist emblem, assembled in the Lustgarten to listen to the Minister of Propaganda, Dr Goebbels, who declared that for the first time the German nation was now celebrating the work accomplished by all classes of the population and by all professions The Minister recalled that hitherto the explosion of bombs, the singing of songs of hatred, and violent clashes between antagonistic groups had almost invariably characterised the First of May Today, on the first Labour Day since the Führer's accession to power, the whole German nation was assembled to affirm the unity of State and nation Class warfare had come to an end and the idea of a veritable national community had been established on the ruins of capitalist liberalism

During the afternoon upwards of one million workers, in columns of 100,000 each, marched from all parts of the capital to the Tempelhofer Feld (see Pict 107) Here they were addressed by Hitler, whose speech, lasting about ninety minutes, was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic cheers

The Fuhrer announced that, in order to restore normal social conditions, it was first and foremost essential that the millions of Germans now artificially divided into classes, and hypnotised by caste prejudices, should learn to understand each other better Today the slogan should be *Respect the labourer and honour his work* Such respect ought not to be conditioned by the nature of the work accomplished but by the way in which it was performed Factory workers peasants, black coated workers, bourgeois, should form a single community The loveliest spring day should not become a symbol of class struggle, of class hatred of social dissolution and decomposition, it should, on the contrary, become the symbol of creative labour, of social solidarity, and therefore of social progress

He then proceeded to define as follows the immediate aims of the new Government —

(1) To rally the entire German people behind a single banner symbolising the new ideals and the new political faith of the nation

(2) To reawaken and stimulate both the sense of duty and the self consciousness of the nation In the past the German nation suffered from an inferiority complex which

had been artificially developed Today it might still be possible to do violence to the German nation, but it was no longer possible to humiliate it, for the Germans no longer regarded themselves as a second-class people

(3) The introduction of the compulsory labour service pursued the double object of teaching all younger persons manual labour and the duty of obedience The labour service was destined to destroy the prejudice according to which manual labour was something inferior, something to be ashamed of It was not sufficient to outwardly eliminate Marxism, it was essential to destroy its intellectual basis, of which a sentiment of arrogance was a factor The ideal of National Socialism would be realised without delay, with the result that in forty years' time the meaning of the words "work" and "manual labour" would have undergone an evolution similar to that experienced by the terms "lansquenet" and "soldier"

(4) More important still was the task of liberating creative initiative from the unto ward influence of majority decisions, not only in political, but also in economic, assemblies No revival of economic activity was possible without a synthesis of the creative spirit and of the consciousness of responsibility towards the nation as a whole Contracts would consequently retain their importance, but it should be borne in mind that the individual "was not made for contracts," but that the objects of contracts was to render social relations possible

(5) During the present year, an effort would be made to cover the first lap of the difficult course leading to an organised management of the national economy It was a fundamental and recognised fact that no economic revival would be possible which had not the peasant as its starting point—since the peasant constituted the foundation alike of ethnical, economic, and national existence The road to be followed led from the peasant to the factory worker, and thence to the black-coated and the brain worker During the past fourteen years this elementary truth had been systematically ignored with the inevitable result that neither the towns, nor the workers, nor the middle classes had been helped On the contrary, they had all been ruined

(6) The suppression of unemployment by the creation of work comprised two different categories of measures Firstly, the creation of work by private initiative, that is to say by the building trade, but more especially by an appeal to the entire German nation Mere star-gazing would not solve the problem, everyone must contribute to its solution Reason and confidence must collaborate in a common effort to create work. Each individual has the duty of making his purchases immediately, without hesitation or delay Secondly, the creation of work by the State will begin by the immediate application of a gigantic programme of road building It was necessary for the State to start on a large scale, to overcome all resistance, and to inaugurate a series of works of public utility calculated to reduce the number of unemployed

(7) The present intolerable rates of interest must be reduced

(8) A commercial policy must be pursued which would ensure the stability of industrial production, without imperilling the interests of German agriculture

The Chancellor concluded by alluding to the difficulties of realising these various tasks The road to be trodden by the German nation in the future, he said, would be not less difficult than the road along which it had marched during the past fourteen years If there is any hostility on the part of others, the nation must counter it by still further consolidating its unity The German nation would, moreover, never cease to demand parity of rights

Fireworks and other ceremonies concluded this historic day, which was celebrated in befitting fashion throughout the Reich

Psychologically, the ground was thus prepared for the absorption of the former labour unions in the National Socialist labour organisation. On May 2, punctually at ten o'clock, the offices of the labour unions in the whole Reich were occupied by the SA., and the business of the unions was taken over by a "Committee of Action for the Protection of German Labour," formed under the auspices of the National Socialist Party. By eleven o'clock everything was finished, without a single incident having occurred. Describing these events, Dr. Ley said that "it seemed as if the Marxist leaders of the labour unions positively breathed a sigh of relief that the National Socialist Party had at last relieved them of their difficult functions and henceforth assumed the responsibility for the guidance of the German working classes."

On the same day the Christian labour unions voluntarily surrendered their various organisations, their leaders having already fled to the Saar. All other labour unions were duly taken over on the following day, so that already on May 4, Dr. Ley could announce to Chancellor Hitler that all the organisations of workers and employees, totalling 169, had been absorbed by the Party.

According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, conditions in the labour unions thus taken over were far from satisfactory. Lack of confidence appeared to be general. Of fifteen million workers, scarcely five million were organised and the payment of subscriptions was extremely irregular.

On the other hand, the administrative apparatus in nowise corresponded to this state of things. It had remained just as inflated as it was in the golden era of the labour syndicates in 1920, shortly after the War, with the result that a huge financial deficit had accumulated. The Public Works' unions, one of the largest and best organised, had contracted bank debts amounting to 3,000,000 marks, the interest on which was ten per cent. annually. Hence it was no longer in a position to fulfil its social obligations. Corruption on a large scale prevailed, and if legal proceedings had been instituted in every case of alleged irregularities, the courts would have been fully occupied for years to come. Despite the difficulty of carrying-out an exact control of the accounts of the various labour unions, it could be ascertained that within a few months preceding their dissolution some 600,000 marks had been embezzled.

Financial and moral bankruptcy, to say nothing of an evil conscience—this was all that was left of the erstwhile so proud German labour unions.

On May 10, 1933, the first Congress of German Labour was inaugurated in the Assembly Hall of the Prussian Council of State, on which occasion the foundation of the German Labour Front under the leadership of Dr. Ley was announced. Two main organisations were erected on the ruins of the numerous former professional associations—namely, the Union of German Workers and the Union of German Employees. Later on the employers also joined the Labour Front, of which it could truly be said that it constituted "the union of all Germans earning their living by their work, without distinction of economic or social position."

The Labour Front, thus constituted on a truly national scale, was affiliated to the National Socialist Party in 1935. In the meantime an organisation of

industrial interests had been formed to represent individual industrial undertakings In order to prevent a clash between this organisation and the Labour Front, the former—without, however, forfeiting its autonomy—became a corporative member of the Labour Front as a result of negotiations between the Reich Minister of Labour Seldte, the Reich Minister of Economy Dr Schacht, and Dr Ley A Central Council of Labour and Economics was established to represent the entire Labour Front organisation, at the same time, District Councils and about 3,000 local labour committees were formed throughout the Reich

Chancellor Hitler himself described the scope and aims of the German Labour Front in a decree dated October 24, 1934

"The German Labour Front is *the organisation of all German brain and manual workers* It includes, in particular, the members of the former labour unions, of the unions of employees, and of the former associations of employers, which are united in the Labour Front on a footing of complete equality The aim of the Labour Front is the formation of a real national community of all Germans The Labour Front must see to it that every individual is able to take his place, both morally and physically, in the economic life of the nation in such a way as to enable him to give of his best for the greatest advantage of the national community The duty is incumbent on the Labour Front of assuring social peace by bringing employers and employees nearer to each other, employers must have comprehension for the legitimate demands of their employees, the latter on the other hand, must have regard for the position and the possibilities of the undertaking The Labour Front has the duty of adjusting the legitimate interests of all parties in a manner conforming to National Socialist principles Attached to the Labour Front is the organisation 'Strength through Joy" The Labour Front has the further duty of looking after the professional education of its adherents

"Thanks to the self help organisation of the Labour Front, the maintenance of the existence of every member is guaranteed in case of necessity, in order to facilitate the ascent of capable citizens or to enable them to create an independent existence for themselves, if possible, on their own soil"

The duties assigned by Hitler to the Labour Front are thus alike of a social, an educational, and a political nature The task incumbent on the Labour Front is to educate all German citizens in the sense of the National Socialist philosophy, to protect the social and economic rights of its own members, and to ensure the maintenance of social peace and harmony Its tasks also include the creation of institutions destined to come to the assistance of its members, the organisation of their professional training, and the care of their welfare during their leisure hours and their holidays

To a foreign observer it is surprising to see how the Labour Front has succeeded in uniting entirely different classes of Germans in a spirit of comradeship and national solidarity Within its ranks the workers themselves formulate their

claims and define their social position. It may appear still more surprising that manual and intellectual workers, employees, and employers, march together behind the same flag. Class warfare, which forms the basis of Social Democratic teaching, has come to an end in Germany. Peasants and public functionaries (whether State or communal), however, still retain their own organisations.

In reply to a question put by me to Dr. Ley, the energetic leader of the German Labour Front, as to how such a rapid success was possible, he answered impulsively, with a smile: "Do you want to know the recipe? It is quite simple. It consists of two words: Adolf Hitler."

The organisation of the German Labour Front is both regional and professional. The regional organisation corresponds to the organisation of the Party, i. e., in regions under a regional leader, in districts under a district leader, in localities under local leaders. The most important auxiliaries of these leaders are the elected heads of the staffs in the various industrial and commercial undertakings. At the basis of this colossal edifice are those in charge of the "cells" and "blocks" —the latter being an extension of the "cells."

In respect of its professional organisation, the Labour Front is headed by an Administration Board, which has the supreme control over the various departments of the organisation—i. e., those concerned respectively with legal questions, personnel, organisation, Press, training, social problems, propaganda, health, professional education, works' management, youth, women, dwellings, economy, the *Arbeitsdank*, and technical science. Side by side with these Reich offices there are eighteen sections divided up as follows: (1) food supplies; (2) textiles; (3) clothing; (4) building; (5) timber; (6) iron and other metals; (7) chemicals; (8) printing; (9) paper; (10) traffic; (11) mines; (12) banks and insurance; (13) liberal professions; (14) agriculture; (15) leather; (16) stones and earths; (17) commerce; (18) handicraft. These sections are, moreover, divided into Reich professional groups in a hierarchy which reaches to the smallest local unity.

A more detailed description of the organisation of the German Labour Front would exceed the scope of the present book. It may, however, be stressed that the sphere of activity of the Labour Front is greater than that of any other similar organisation in the world.

A few figures may be given in support of this assertion.

The former trades unions required from their members a monthly subscription of Rm. 3.60. The total income of the Confederation of Labour unions (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*) amounted to roughly Rm. 120,000,000 *per annum*. The German Labour Front has now reduced the monthly subscription rate of its individual members to Rm. 1.52, so that its annual income (for a membership of more than 20,000,000) works out at Rm. 384,000,000. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that the Labour Front has not only assumed full responsibility for the former obligations of the unions towards their members in regard to disablement annuities, old-age pensions, unemployed relief, and indemnities in case of death, but has also paid all the

pensions which the former unions had neglected to pay during the last few years of their existence The total sum expended by the German Labour Front on relief in one form or another since the commencement of the National Socialist regime amounts to Rm 328,000,000

It should be noted that the Confederation of Labour unions included in its "relief work" not only cash payments to its members, but also all the money spent on its own administration This circumstance should not be lost sight of when a comparison is made between the annual expenditure of the unions (which amounted to Rm 123,500,000 in 1930) and the amount of money actually spent on relief work by the Labour Front each year

In addition to the sum of Rm 328,000,000 already mentioned, the German Labour Front contributed Rm 5,500,000 to the Winter Relief Scheme (apart from more than Rm 850,000 contributed by its staff) About Rm 22,000,000 was obtained through the street sales of some 70,000,000 badges in 1936 and 1937, the number of helpers from the Labour Front being about 2,000,000 in each instance About Rm 43,500,000 has been spent so far on the 371 consult ation offices for gratuitous legal advice, which were made use of during the past three years by 10 000,000 members, whilst the number of legal advisers was 1,300 The total expenditure of the Labour Front on national hygiene amounted to about Rm 12,800,000 during the period 1935–37.

In the efficiency contests of German works, 221 efficiency badges have been awarded up to now, and 103 of the competing undertakings have received the designation "National Socialist model undertaking" In 1937/38 some 84,000 works were competing for these distinctions The badges are given for outstanding merit in respect of the following vocational training facilities, promotion of national hygiene, settlement and housing schemes, and encouragement of KdF schemes Some 35,000 men and women look after the welfare of the young workers In the past, only four or five days were set apart for holidays each year, and 45 per cent of the young workers received no holidays at all To-day, however, practically all sets of tariff regulations fix the number of holidays at from 10 to 15 and practically all sets of works' regulations at from 12 to 18 days

In 1934–37, the entries for the Reich vocational contests aggregated 4,100,000, comprising 2,800,000 young men and 1,300,000 young women 550 competitors secured first places and were awarded scholarships to the value of Rm 1,000 each, which enables them to continue their training Some 2,100 firms have been singled out for supplementary vocational training, and about 110,000 persons have so far profited from the facilities thus offered As regards vocational training in general, the following figures (which refer to the period 1933–37) may be of interest Number of work schools and vocational training undertakings 225, total number of measures promoting vocational training 149,000, total number of participants 6,200,000, aggregate expenditure on vocational training, including that given to persons changing over from one vocation to another Rm 36,700,000

The special requirements of women employees have not been neglected either Some 4,000 consultation bureaus have been opened for them, the annual number of consultants being about 300,000 There are more than 600 women's groups

attached to the works. About 200 social helpers and more than 250 women wardens look after women's interests in the undertakings. About Rm. 15,000,000 has been set aside from the funds of the German Labour Front for the creation of 3,000 homes of the "settlement" type. The 20,000 dwelling units erected by the building societies affiliated to the Labour Front out of their own capital represent a total value of Rm. 182,000,000.

Compared with the expenditure of the German Labour Front, and with the wide scope of its activities, the costs of its administration are small, amounting in 1937 to less than 20% of the total contributions of its members. These costs have constantly diminished within the past few years (36% in 1934, 23.7% in 1935). In this connection it should be recalled that the costs of administration of the former labour unions amounted to approximately 50% of the contributions received by them.

The result of the decrease in the costs of administration, and of other measures of retrenchment, has been to increase the monthly surpluses of the Labour Front from an average of Rm. 2,000,000 in 1935, to Rm. 7,500,000 in September, 1936, despite a marked rise of expenditure on social assistance of the most varied kinds. Thanks to the constantly increasing revenue, the total means at the disposal of the Labour Front have very considerably augmented. This financial development has permitted an expenditure of very large sums for purposes which are not included in the ordinary budget of the Labour Front—e.g., the establishment of new seaside bathing resorts, with all the necessary accommodation and other uptodate amenities, for its members; the construction of homes for rest and recuperation, of sailors' homes, of two large steamers for oversea holiday trips, of training schools for future party leaders, etc.

The National Socialist Organisation "Strength through Joy"

If the idea of procuring suitable physical and mental recreation for working people during their leisure hours is not new, since it had already been put forward on several occasions in other countries, prior to the advent of the National Socialist régime in Germany no serious attempt had anywhere been made to realise it except in Italy, where the Fascist Government introduced the system of *Dopolavoro*. But even in Italy the realisation of this idea has not attained the same dimensions as in the new Germany.

"Work entails physical and nervous strain liable to leave a feeling of bodily and mental exhaustion which cannot be eradicated by merely going to rest. Mind and body require new nourishment. Since during the hours of labour a *maximum* of effort and attention is demanded of the worker, it is essential that during the latter's leisure hours the best of everything should be offered him in the shape of spiritual, intellectual, and physical recreation, in order to maintain, or if necessary restore, the joy of life and work." Inspired by this idea, Dr. Ley founded the National Socialist organisation appropriately known as "Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*, or, abbreviated, KdF.).

The secret of the incomparable success undeniably obtained by this organi-

sation resides in the application of the principle according to which every employer should admit the workers to participate in the development of the undertaking and thereby encourage the workers' creative power. All available resources—cultural and economic—are utilised by KdF. with the object of furthering the wholehearted collaboration of the masses in the great work of national production, and thus ensuring a feeling of true national solidarity. The result of its indefatigable efforts in view of the accomplishment of this aim has been to unite 20 million workers belonging to all professions, all classes, all sorts and conditions of people, in a vast national community enjoying together the beauties of Nature, as well as the benefits conferred by a common culture and by healthy physical exercise.

Every member of the Labour Front adheres *ipso facto* to KdF., the organisation of which is modelled on that of the Labour Front and of the National Socialist Party. At its head is Dr. Ley, who has under his orders a vast number of officials of various ranks, most of whom give their services gratuitously. The Central Administration of KdF. is divided into the following sections:—

(1) *Section for the Organisation of Leisure Hours.*

Before the advent of the National Socialist régime, millions of persons in Germany had never seen a theatre from the inside. An enquiry organised among the workers and employees of the Siemens Works in Berlin revealed the fact that 87.6% of the men and 81.3% of the women had never been to an operatic performance; whilst 63.8% of the men and 72.2% of the women had never visited a theatre. The following figures aptly illustrate the change introduced in this respect by the Nationalist Socialist régime and by the creation of KdF.:—

The number of persons who were able to visit theatres thanks to KdF. was 22,100,000, to which must be added 18,600,000 who visited film performances, 5,600,000 who attended concerts, 3,300,000 who went to factory exhibitions, and 50,000,000 who took part in cultural demonstrations. The National Socialist Reich Symphony Orchestra, which consists of ninety members, has given hundreds of concerts throughout Germany.

Film performances were given in 700 camps to over 100,000 workers employed in the construction of the Reich motor-roads. The establishment of popular libraries, the service of the gratuitous distribution of periodicals, must also be taken into account (see Picts. 110, 117).

(2) *Section for Popular Education.*

The object of this section is to contribute to the education of the nation in the sense of the National Socialist ideal. For this purpose, 230 establishments for popular education have been created, in which lectures on various branches of culture are given, and regular courses of study organised which embrace a variety of subjects including the German language, shortland, mathematics, etc. Special sub-sections exist imparting instruction in music, chess, painting,

photography, and other subjects. On the other hand, the organisation of visits to museums and of escorted excursions to places of interest affords the workers opportunities of obtaining first-hand knowledge of the cultural achievements of their nation. An extensive organisation of popular libraries serves the purpose of bringing books within the reach of the remotest workshops. 62,000 educational conferences of the most varied kinds were organised and were attended by 10,000,000 persons. Two Reich theatre trains, two soldiers' stages, one Reich motor-road stage, and fifteen sound-film travelling-theatres are available in connection with these purposes.

(3) *Section for Travel, Excursions, and Holidays.*

One of the main principles of the KdF. is that the German worker should travel during his holidays, since holidays without change of air are not really beneficial. Since 1934, a total of 384 sea voyages (490,000 participants), more than 60,000 excursions on land (19,000,000 participants), and 113,000 hiking tours (3,000,000 participants) have been organised by KdF., which has also started to build a fleet of ocean-going passenger ships of its own. Two of these vessels, aggregating 25,000 tons each and named *Wilhelm Gustloff* and *Dr. Robert Ley* respectively, were laid down on May 1st, 1936. The former has been in actual service for some time past, and the latter was launched a short while ago. A gigantic sea-side resort, capable of accommodating 20,000 persons, is in course of construction. Special KdF. trains are run whenever events of nation-wide importance take place in Germany (see Pict. 111 to 116). Out of the 9,000,000 persons who joined KdF. tours and excursions in 1937, just under 2,000,000 took part in hiking tours, and about 18,000 in the sea voyages to Norway, Madeira and Italy undertaken in the ships of the KdF. fleet.

The total number of persons who travelled under the auspices of KdF. during the years 1935–36–37 exceeded that of the population of the Scandinavian countries. During the same period the KdF. trains covered a total distance equal to more than fifty times the circumference of the globe.

(4) *Sports Section.*

The organisation of sport within the KdF. has opened a wide breach in the ranks of the "armchair heroes." Since 1934, some 21,000,000 persons have taken part in the sports practice organised by it, the number of hours thus spent exceeding 1,000,000.

Every big undertaking, of whatever nature it may be, is—or will shortly be—provided with its own sports grounds, its own swimming bath, and its own recreation grounds. A fleet of yachts is at the disposal of amateurs of aquatic sports, which are greatly in vogue at all bathing resorts. The constantly growing popularity of winter sports has received a new impetus thanks to the reduction in price of skis and skates. The development of summer sports has been similarly favoured by the introduction of cheaper tennis rackets (see Picts. 118 to 120, 122).

(5) *Section: "Beauty of Work."*

The first duty of this section is to ensure that the rules of modern hygiene and cleanliness are strictly observed in all factories, workshops, offices, stores and shops, and other places where manual or intellectual work is performed. Its second duty is to see that they are fitted-out according to æsthetic principles and in such a way as to render work therein a pleasure. The cost of the improvements thus made by the employers exceeds Rm. 600,000,000. As regards details, the improvements were concerned with the following: 23,000 work rooms, 6,000 factory yards, 17,000 eating rooms and common rooms (canteens, etc.), 800 comradeship houses, and 1,200 sports grounds. In addition, improvements of the kind named were made on board 3,600 ships. More than 5,000 villages took part in the campaign for improving the amenities of the countryside. By means of an illustrated periodical, of films and exhibitions, the section gives employers valuable hints concerning the possibilities of improving their premises (see Pict. 121).

(6) *Section for "Factory Troops" (Werkscharen).*

The name *Werkscharen* designates the special "shock troops" of the National Socialist Party in the various undertakings. These "shock troops" have received a special training in National Socialist ideology. They are recruited alike from the ranks of the Party and its different formations, and from a carefully selected *élite* of workers between 18 and 25 years of age. Every undertaking has its Factory Troops, whose total number is estimated at 300,000. It is their duty to participate in all popular demonstrations as representatives of the working classes, to defend the traditional customs existing in the various undertakings, to appear at roll-calls held within the undertakings on certain notable occasions, and in general to ensure the success of all public celebrations.

Since April 1, 1938, the whole of the ideological training has been entrusted to them. In future, the Factory Troops Bureau at the Head Office of the German Labour Front will be merged with the Training Bureau and will receive its instructions from the Party. The Factory Troops are required to ensure that the National Socialist spirit pervades the undertakings, every one of which must be organised in such a manner that, in the event of an economic breakdown, all the arrangements that may be necessary for coping with it can be made forthwith. (See Picts. 108, 109.)

(7) *Homes for Soldiers (Wehrmachtsheime).*

In consequence of an agreement between the Minister of War and Dr. Ley, all persons belonging to the fighting forces enjoy in their leisure time the advantages offered by KdF. This section has the duty of establishing Soldiers' Homes, of procuring suitable recreation for members of the fighting forces, and of ensuring the best possible relations between them and the nation.

An important "World Congress for Leisure and Recreation" met in Hamburg [illegible], 1936. Fifty nations were represented. Conformably with the suggestion

made by Dr. Ley in his speech that "joy is the most potent factor of international understanding," the Congress decided the foundation of a "Central International Office Joy and Work" under the presidency of Dr. Ley.

The recognition by competent foreign opinion of the value of the work accomplished by the KdF. naturally caused great satisfaction in Germany, all the more so since the Hamburg Congress had unanimously acclaimed the KdF. as an example of practical Socialism. This recognition afforded at the same time personal satisfaction to Dr. Ley by acquitting him of the charge levelled against him at the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1933 of having "enslaved" the German working classes by the suppression of the former labour unions and their incorporation in the Labour Front.

The New Labour Legislation in Germany

Prior to the advent of the National Socialist régime, labour legislation had been based on the collective system of tariff agreements, set up after the War. The whole system was inspired by the idea of class warfare, i.e., of an irreconcilable antagonism between employers and employed, which could possibly be diminished by means of an understanding between the two parties but which none the less remained the acknowledged foundation of their mutual relations. The creation of the Labour Front implied the birth of a new conception of the organisation of labour. This, in turn, implied a radical transformation of the principles of labour legislation.

Pending the promulgation of a Magna Charta of the new social order in Germany, a law enacted in May, 1933, provided for the appointment of so-called "Trustees of Labour." Under the provisions of this law the Reich was divided into fourteen economic regions, in each of which the trustees in question had the duty of maintaining industrial peace and of preparing the way for the new social order. The evolution thus indicated was completed nine months later by the fundamental law concerning "the regulation of national labour" of January 20, 1934. This law was subsequently completed by two other laws concerning work in public services and work at home respectively.

These laws may rightly be considered as forming a new Constitution of Labour. On the one hand, they abolished all forms of class warfare; whilst, on the other, they are based on the National Socialist principle of leadership and on that of honour and loyalty between employers and employed.

Under the terms of the new Labour Constitution the centre of gravity of work lies in the undertaking itself "where the employer as leader, the employees and workers, co-operate for the benefit of the undertaking and consequently for the welfare of nation and State." This first paragraph of the law of January 20, 1934, is one of the corner-stones of the new German labour legislation, and reflects the tremendous change undergone by the whole social system in Germany. Henceforth the antagonism between employers and employed is replaced by their co-operation for the benefit of the nation and the country. Employers and employed are, according to Hitler's definition, delegates of the whole nation,

and every single undertaking forms a link in the chain of the great German national community.

In every undertaking the final decision can only be taken by the employer, i e., the leader of the undertaking. He alone has to decide the conditions of work. Far from implying a return to arbitrary rule or the "landlord" standpoint, the new law requires that the employer should only take his decisions after consultation with the delegates elected for this purpose by his employees and workers

Discussions of this nature take place between the employer and a "council of confidential advisers" (*Vertrauensrat*) which must be clearly distinguished from a "workers' council" (*Betriebsrat*) The difference between the two is that the *Vertrauensrat* comprises not only representatives of the employees but also the employers themselves. The *Vertrauensrat* is thus an organ in which the employer and the delegates of the workers meet together in harmonious collaboration in order to discuss all questions relating alike to the interests of the undertaking and to the personal interests of the staff. Hence the former "workers' council" has been converted from an instrument of class warfare into one of social solidarity.

The members of the *Vertrauensrat* are nominated by the employer, but an opportunity is afforded to the employees to express by secret ballot their opinion concerning the "confidential advisers" thus appointed In every undertaking in which at least twenty persons are employed, the employer must enact regulations for the general conditions of work The scale of wages is determined by the Trustees of Labour after consultation with a committee of experts With a view to ensuring that the conditions of work shall not fall below the minimum standard laid down by law, the Trustees have almost everywhere availed themselves of their right to issue tariff regulations

Apart from fixing the wages and the regulations concerning the conduct of the undertakings, the rules prescribed by the Trustees of Labour pursue the aim of realising a uniform regulation of the conditions of work, in so far as such a regulation may be necessary. A uniform legal regulation of the conditions of labour has not yet been forthcoming, and has recently been the subject of interesting, and sometimes lively, discussions The Academy for German Law, however, has prepared a comprehensive draft, which is the outcome of detailed consultations with the competent authorities and will shortly be submitted to the Ministries concerned It will supplement the National Labour Act as regards the special relations between individual employers and employees on the basis of the employment contract and will supply the solid foundation of mandatory law for many of the social improvements recently effected in Germany.

The value of work and social relations in contemporary Germany can be correctly estimated only if it is borne in mind that respect for honour forms the basis of their evaluation Conformably with this principle the aforementioned law of January 20, 1934, placed the honour of labour under the protection of a special court known as the "Tribunal of Social Honour," which has to decide

cases defined by Dr. Ley as involving "breaches of social honour." For the first time in the history of labour, its inherent honourableness becomes the common denominator of the work of employers and employed alike. No State in the world has any comparable legislation.

The Tribunal of Social Honour established by the National Socialist State sits in judgment on those who are charged with having offended against the "community spirit" and with having neglected the duties thereby incumbent on them. By implication, the institution of this tribunal aims at developing a sense of honour in all workers. The maxim: "Man does not live by bread alone" is also applicable to the workers.

The Tribunal of Social Honour is composed of a professional Judge as president, and of one representative each of the employers and the employed. The following cases may be defined as offences against social honour and as coming within the purview of the Court:—

(1) If employers or their representatives abuse their authority to unduly exploit the working capacity of any member of the staff or to tarnish his honour;

(2) if employees imperil the peace of the undertaking by malevolent agitation, especially if in their capacity as "confidential advisers" they deliberately interfere in an illegal manner in the management of the undertaking, or persistently seek to destroy the "community spirit" among the workers;

(3) if members of the *personnel* repeatedly submit unfounded complaints to the Trustees of Labour, or if they persistently refuse to obey their written orders;

(4) if members of the *Vertrauensrat* betray confidential information which they may have received in fulfilment of their functions.

The Tribunal of Social Honour may alternatively impose the following penalties: (1) a warning; (2) a reprimand; (3) fines to a maximum amount of 10,000 marks; (4) disqualification, either as employer or as member of the *Vertrauensrat*; (5) dismissal from the present employment.

On the competent Trustee of Labour the task is incumbent of enforcing the penalties, of examining appeals, and of transmitting them, if need be, to the Reich Ministry of Labour. A supreme Court of Social Honour in Berlin is empowered to deal with all appeals against decisions of the various Tribunals.

The severity of the penalties which the Tribunal of Social Honour is authorised to impose, notably in respect of the dismissal of an incapable employer or of the dismissal of an employee for "anti-social behaviour," surpasses everything which had hitherto been enacted for the protection of social order.

An important part of the law of January 20, 1934, relates to the protection of workers against wrongful dismissal. Under the terms of that law every worker who has been employed for at least twelve months in an undertaking must be as far as possible protected against dismissal, save, of course, for reasons of *force majeure*. Every worker who considers his dismissal to be unjustified is entitled to apply to the Labour Court for a repeal of that measure. If the appeal succeeds, the employer must pay the worker an indemnity, the amount of which

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depends on the length of time of employment, but must not, as a rule, exceed one third of the wages or salary for the past calendar year If the dismissal was manifestly arbitrary, or based on absolutely paltry motives, or due to an abuse of the employer's position, the Labour Court can award an indemnity equal to the whole of the last year's remuneration

The Trustee of Labour is empowered, in cases where several workers are simultaneously dismissed, to postpone their dismissal for two months This provision is intended to prevent unforeseen disturbances on the labour market and to give the dismissed persons time to seek new employment

Social Insurance, Unemployment Relief, and Protection of Labour

Social insurance is one of the oldest institutions of its kind in Germany It was created by Bismarck on the basis of the idea of co-operative self help—an idea which found expression already in the Middle Ages in the so called "fraternal funds" and in the mutual aid organised by the guilds, later on in similar funds established by the corporations of miners Nowadays the State organises this self help and supplies funds out of its own exchequer in the event of adequate means for assuring the existence of those of its citizens who are threatened by the vicissitudes of life not being otherwise forthcoming It is well known that the German system of social insurance has served as model for all other nations

Nevertheless the development of social insurance in Germany during the years following the Great War proved far from satisfactory, various branches of that insurance having been placed in a most difficult position in consequence of currency inflation and the alarming growth of unemployment resulting from the War Disablement insurance alone showed a deficit of 17,000,000,000 marks on the basis of a calculation of all future revenue and expenditure and of the pay ment of interest The funds at the disposal of social insurance in Germany were reduced from 3,6 milliards which they totalled immediately after the War, to barely one milliard in 1924 after the inflation period On the other hand, the number of unemployed had risen from 900,000 in 1924 to over six millions in 1933 It is thus easy to conceive the enormous difficulties with which all branches of social insurance were confronted at the latter date

Hence the National Socialist Government rightly considered it to be an imperative duty to eliminate, by the utilisation of its available financial re sources and the creation of a new order of things, the dangers menacing the existence of the entire edifice of social insurance

Among the measures taken was the law of December 7, 1933, relating to the reform of pensions, under the terms of which the method of repartition among all the insured of the sums payable to pensioners was transformed into the method of the formation of mathematical reserves for every insured person The premiums were fixed in such a way that the value of all future premiums, including the capital at the disposal of the social insurance fund and the contri bution of the State with the interest, would guarantee the sum foreseen as necessary for covering all furure expenses The favourable results produced

by this reform are already visible, and the German workers of all categories are to-day relieved of any anxiety for their old age or in case of accident. At the same time various decrees have aimed at reshaping sick insurance. Commissioners appointed by the Ministry of Labour have successfully set to work to suppress existing abuses and to create a more solid foundation for the sick insurance fund.

On July 5, 1934, a law was promulgated concerning the new organisation of social insurance. The idea inspiring this law was to put an end to the obscurity resulting from the excessive splitting-up of the Reich insurance system, and to increase its productive capacity by means of a process of unification. The law in question divides the Reich insurance into the following five branches: sick insurance, workmen's pensions insurance, employees' insurance, disablement insurance, and miners' insurance.

It is interesting to note that all proposals put forward with the object of transforming the institution of social insurance into one of universal insurance comprising pensions for all citizens of the Reich were firmly rejected by the National Socialist Government, which clearly expressed itself in favour of a return to Bismarck's principles, whilst adapting the latter to the guiding ideas of the new régime. .

As the practical disappearance of unemployment made it possible to guarantee the financial stability of the annuity insurance schemes and to further develop the system of benefits, a law was passed on December 21, 1937, for the purpose of utilising these possibilities. Its provisions include the following:—

(1) In order to ensure that the disablement insurance scheme and the employees' insurance scheme are permanently placed on a sound footing, the following annual payments have to be made out of the unemployment insurance fund:—

(*a*) to the disablement insurance fund:—an amount equal to 18 per cent of its annual income from contributions;

(*b*) to the Reich Institution for Employees' Insurance:—an amount equal to 25 per cent of its annual income from contributions.

Moreover, the Reich Government will provide the money required to supplement the income of those two funds derived from contributions and other sources in order to ensure that the scales of insurance benefits can be maintained. The Government has thus assumed a legal guarantee for the satisfactory working of the disablement and employees' insurance schemes.

(2) In order to ensure that the miners' pension insurance fund is permanently placed on a sound footing, the mine workers' section of that fund is to receive the following annual payments:—

(*a*) Rm. 105,000,000 from the Reich Government;

(*b*) Rm. 50,000,000 from the disablement insurance fund.

In addition, the employees' insurance fund has to make an annual payment of Rm. 18,000,000 to the clerical employees' section of the miners' pension insurance fund. The law also provides that the contributions paid to the miners'

pension and sick insurance funds by the insured persons and by the employers are to be proportionally readjusted and that the mine workers' contributions to the unemployment insurance fund are to be reduced This is equivalent to raising the gross wages of the insured persons by about 6 per cent As a result, the contributions now payable by the mine workers in respect of their social insurance will be on the same level as those payable by other workers, whilst the benefits receivable by them will be greater Mine owners, on the other hand, will have to pay an additional amount of Rm 25,000,000 or Rm 30,000,000 *per annum*

(3) The benefits payable under the disablement and employees' insurance schemes will be readjusted as follows —

(*a*) For purposes of population policy, insured women workers intending to get married will have refunded to them that portion of the contributions which represents their own payments Orphans' annuities and children's allowances will be paid to the age of eighteen so long as the beneficiaries attend a school or are in receipt of vocational education or training Children's allowances will be increased in respect of more children than two Workmen's widows will be entitled to an annuity even though they may not be disabled, provided that they have to bring up more than three children

(*b*) The time spent with the fighting forces or in connection with the Reich Labour Service will be counted part of the legal waiting time

(*c*) Payments made to persons on active war service will be increased for the duration of such service

(*d*) The dormancy regulations are mitigated in favour of persons disabled during the war

(*e*) They will be mitigated all round wherever several annuities payable in respect of disablement insurance, employees' insurance and miners' pension insurance coincide

(*f*) Reversionary rights will be simplified and any hardships in connection with them will be removed

The law also contains a clause providing that an annual amount of from Rm 270,000,000 to Rm 280 000,000 has to be paid during the period 1938–41 out of the unemployment insurance fund in order to build up a special fund under the control of the Reich Government with a view to augmenting the children's allowances paid to persons having a large number of children Finally, the law gives every German citizen below the age of forty the right to join the social insurance schemes Up to now, this right (or duty) had been confined to workers and other employees The new law, therefore, is actually the first step towards a national insurance scheme Thanks to the improved benefits, the increased children's allowances, and the reduced contributions payable by miners, it improves the financial position of the working community as a whole to the extent of more then Rm 500 000,000 *per annum* At the same time it permanently safeguards the financial basis of the disablement insurance, the employees'

insurance, and the miners' pension insurance funds, without increasing the contributions payable by the parties (except, as stated, the mine owners)

The following figures for 1937 will convey a notion of the importance of social work in Germany the sick insurance, with 22,300,000 insured, paid indemnities amounting to Rm 1,423,200,000, the disablement insurance with 27,200,000 insured, Rm 314,100,000, the old age insurance, with 19,200,000 insured, 1,209,100,000, the employees' insurance, with 4,400,000 insured, Rm 333,500,000, the miners' pension insurance, with 700,000 insured, Rm 206,300,000 This makes the enormous total of Rm 3,486,200,000 paid for indemnities of various kinds in a single year

The fact that despite this heavy expenditure the funds at the disposal of social insurance increased from Rm 4,627,800,000 in 1932 to Rm 7,439,200,000 in 1937, furnishes proof of the progress achieved in this domain under the new regime

An institution, the activity of which had proved unsatisfactory during the years preceding the advent to power of the National Socialists, namely, the "Reich Institute for the Procuring of Work and for Unemployment Insurance," assumed a new importance in consequence of the almost complete suppression of unemployment in Germany Instead of assisting the unemployed by an increase of the dole, the Third Reich has procured work for them Hence the Institute in question, which in former times was well nigh crushed by the burden of relief required by the unemployed and therefore condemned to an absolutely unprofitable activity, has meanwhile been put in a position to devote its resources to new constructive work Its chief function now is to act as trustee for the Reich Government in connection with the systematic distribution and utilisation of the available labour This means that the subject of unemployment insurance will henceforth be approached from a new angle, inasmuch as its benefits will not become operative until every other opportunity of assistance has been exhausted In other words, the central idea underlying the unemployment insurance scheme is no longer the insured's claim to relief in return for his contributions to the fund, but rather his conscious support of the steps taken by the Government to properly distribute the sources of labour

Although the subscriptions of the workers had been constantly augmented, the Institute, before Hitler's advent to power, found itself confronted by an enormous and continuously increasing debt—amounting in 1931 to about 1½ milliard marks—which frequently necessitated State intervention To day, however, not only is the Institute self-sustaining, but it is also able to relieve the State and the municipalities of a burden of emergency relief, which amounts to some Rm 3,000,000,000

The procuring of work constitutes an important factor in a country which counts over twenty million workers, in which new opportunities for work are not always available, but in which, on the other hand, a sufficient number of suitable workers exists Hence the necessity of a certain equilibration An equilibration is necessary between the different categories of age and the different

groups of specialised workers—and the necessity of bringing it about has become acutely felt since the reorganisation of the fighting forces of the Reich It was in order to facilitate it that two laws were passed, namely, the law of May 15, 1935, authorising the Reich Institute to prohibit by a veto on migration within the Reich an undesirable accumulation of potential workers in districts particularly affected by unemployment, and the law of November 5, 1935, which centralised in the Reich Institute the functions of procuring work, of giving professional advice, and of procuring places for apprentices

The Reich Institute is thus required to carry out certain functions, which are within the prerogative of the Government, at its own responsibility and as an independent organ of the latter Hence, it is at the same time a Government authority consciously detached and separated from the framework of State administration as a whole This particular legal status has been conferred upon it because of the need for an instrument capable of adjusting itself from time to time to the requirements of the labour situation without having first to overcome needless complications and difficulties Moreover, this plan of constituting it is tantamount to the practical acknowledgment of the fact that the systematic distribution of labour as part of the general activities of the State is so important a matter that it demands a separate and always available apparatus which, although subject to State supervision, specialises in this particular domain Without in any way questioning the need for uniformity in the whole field of State administration, it must be conceded that the principle of the division of labour—so potent in the domain of private economy—has a claim to recognition in the sphere of national economy also and that the administration of a modern State must pay due regard to the progressive development of economic conditions At any rate, practical experience has shown that the setting up of the Reich Institute as an independent organ of the Government has been amply justified by the results achieved

The Reich Institute itself is domiciled in Berlin Its subordinate organs are the thirteen Regional Labour Exchanges (including the special Saarbrucken branch of the Rhineland Regional Labour Exchange for the Saarland), and these in their turn have for their subordinate organs the 345 Local Labour Exchanges The latter, together with their branches and other ancillary organisations, form a dense network spread over the whole territory of the Reich, so that close and direct contact with every economic undertaking and every employed or employable individual is immediately possible at any moment The supervision of the Institute falls to the competency of the Reich Minister of Labour, so that the unity of State policy is always ensured

On October 1, 1937, the Reich Institute could look back upon the tenth anniversary of its foundation The experience collected in those ten years has confirmed its claim to existence A national economy entrusted with so gigantic a programme as that of the Four-Years Plan cannot do without a State institution for the proper distribution of labour The natural corollary of the right to work is the duty to give assistance to those who may be out of employment at any time This, at least, is a moral obligation on the part of the national community

organised as a State So far, the legislation governing unemployment insurance does not yet correspond in full with the importance to which the latter is entitled within the framework of the Reich Institute A reform in this sense is bound to come, as there is an undoubted need for an institution capable of paying regard to the requirements of the labour situation as well as to those of the State more thoroughly than it has been able to do in the past

The introduction of the "work book" for workers of all categories is of great importance for the control of the professional repartition of the German nation as well as for the rational distribution of labour

Other important measures have been passed relating to professional education with the aim, not only of remedying defects caused by the shortage of specialised workers, but also of restoring the vigour of those workers whose capacity has been diminished in consequence of a long period of unemployment

The protection against wrongful dismissal, of which mention has already been made, constitutes only one aspect of a legislation intended to protect the workers Other measures have as their object the protection of wages and salaries, the regulation of hours of work for women (especially expectant mothers or women in childbed), the protection of young persons and children, protection against accidents and vocational diseases, etc All these measures have been unified The State organisation for the carrying out and supervision of measures to protect the workers is concentrated in an organisation known as the *Gewerbe aufsicht*, the officials of which co operate with the Trustees of Labour and with the disablement insurance authorities A "Museum of the Protection of Labour" has also been opened

On April 30, 1938, the Government promulgated a law (*Jugendschutzgesetz*) governing child labour and the hours of work for young persons, by which the existing legislation on these subjects was unified, with the addition of some important improvements Its scope extends to all young persons gainfully employed or undergoing a course of apprenticeship, with the exception of a few occupations such as domestic service, farm labour, sea-going shipping, and river transportation Child labour is prohibited on principle, but if adequate precau tionary measures are taken, children (below the age of 14) may be employed to a limited extent The new law also raises the age of protection from 16 to 18 The eight hour day has been retained for young persons (between 14 and 18), but the hours of attendance at vocational schools are to be counted as working time Overtime is prohibited for all young persons below 16, and night work is prohibited on principle for all young persons The exemptions made in respect of hotels, restaurants, bakeries, etc , have been considerably narrowed down An extended weekend comprising the time between 2 p m on Saturday and 6 a m on Monday has been introduced for all young persons This interval is to serve the purposes of physical and mental relaxation and of training in the principles of National Socialism The annual holidays are to be as follows young persons below sixteen 15 working days, young persons above sixteen 12 working days These periods are automatically increased to 18 days, without

regard to age, if a reasonably long part of the holiday time is spent in a camp or on one of the tours organised by the Hitler Youth.

Social welfare likewise forms a branch of social policy in the new Germany, and will be dealt with in the following chapter. It is another domain of national life in which the activity of the National Socialist Government has yielded remarkably fruitful results. Similar results have been obtained in respect of the solution of the housing problem, which goes hand-in-hand with the problem of urban settlements, the aim of which is to procure for the worker an owner-occupied home worthy of the name.

IX.

Social Welfare

The two fundamental principles of the new Germany can be defined as those of the "national community" and "leadership." In the National Socialist State, social welfare is not merely a matter of secondary importance, the corollary, so to speak, of more or less inevitable defects in the social organism; it is, on the contrary, a permanent duty towards the collectivity—in other words, a permanent social service in the highest sense of the word.

Thanks to the decrease of unemployment, the number of persons dependent on unemployment relief has greatly diminished since the advent of the new régime. Thus new possibilities were opened to the work of social welfare, which could henceforth, in addition to assisting necessitous persons, contribute to the furtherance of the general interests of the nation, to the maintenance and development of its vital forces, and to the upbringing of healthy youthful generations.

To fulfil this object, it was necessary to stimulate and concentrate the entire energy of the nation. Just as the State is completed by the Party on which it is founded and with which it is identified, the institutions of public assistance dependent on the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labour are completed in an ever increasing degree by institutions of private assistance, the work of which is carried out under the direction of the Party for the common aim.

The principal institutions of private assistance are the National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, commonly designated by the letters NSV.); the Protestant Home Mission; the Catholic Caritas Union; and the German Red Cross. These four great organisations not only work hand in hand, but have become closely linked-up with the State institutions for public welfare throughout the Reich since 1933. This close connection between public and private assistance has found outward and visible expression in the foundation of the "Reich Union of Public and Private Welfare and of Assistance to Youth." The National Winter Help (*Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes*, commonly designated by the letters WHW.) and the Work of Assistance to Mother and Child (*Hilfswerk Mutter und Kind*) have furnished by their efforts, and by the results obtained by those efforts, that social welfare has become a matter for the entire German nation.

Public Assistance

A more precise delimitation of the powers of the State in this domain has been carried out since the beginning of 1936. The Reich Ministry of Labour

is now competent in all questions relating to the assistance of war invalids, of the families of those who fell in the war, and of old age pensionaries, as well as in questions generally affecting assistance to the workers and for all special measures which may be taken on behalf of the indigent population The Reich Ministry of the Interior, on the other hand, is responsible in questions of a general nature relating to social welfare, to the relief of necessitous persons, and to the activity of the institutions of private assistance

Since the leading personalities in the National Socialist movement are, for the most part, veterans of the Great War, the "spirit of the trenches" prevails in the new German State Care for war invalids and for the families of the victims of the War is a duty of honour in the Third Reich, which regards it as a sacred task to enable war invalids to lead a care free existence With this aim in view it has, since 1933, become an established principle to grant them a priority of right to employment All undertakings are obliged by law to reserve a certain number of posts for disabled war veterans Of some 47,000 disabled men who were without employment at the end of March, 1933, upwards of 27,000 had thus been able to find work within the next two years, and further progress in this direction has since been accomplished Special agreements con cluded in recent times between the social welfare centres and the medical associ ations have resulted in considerable improvements in the methods of assistance to persons who are blind or who suffer from skull injuries in consequence of the war An annual supplementary allowance of 60 marks is accorded to 420,000 ex servicemen already in receipt of their pension

A notable amelioration in respect of assistance given to the families of war victims was introduced by a law under the terms of which widows were granted a pension of 60% of the full pension of their deceased husbands, in addition to a supplementary pension of 34 marks

The gratitude of the new State towards those champions of the National Socialist movement who were wounded in the course of the struggle of the National Socialist Party for power has found expression in the fact that they have been placed on an equal footing with those who were disabled in the War Chancellor Hitler has moreover decreed the appropriation of 500,000 marks yearly from the funds of the Party for the benefit of both categories of men, who have sacrificed themselves on behalf of the nation

All workers and employees whose productive capacity has been seriously reduced in consequence of an accident are likewise entitled to the same treat ment as the disabled war veterans The spirit of national solidarity has resulted in the creation of a "Foundation for the Victims of Labour " Assistance for the blind has been greatly furthered by the establishment of a Reich Association for the Handicraft of the Blind

Another important measure of social welfare has been the law concerning "assistance to small pensionaries," destined to come to the help of many thou sands of persons who, owing to the depreciation of German currency in the in flation era, have lost their savings, and thus been deprived of the fruit of years of labour and of their means of support in old age

German youth benefits to a large extent by a series of comprehensive measures taken by the Ministry of Labour in the domain of child welfare. Considerable sums are at the disposal of the Ministry in order to assure the development of a healthy generation thanks to timely care given to children whose health is delicate or precarious.

National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation

The most important organisation of private assistance in Germany to-day is the National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation (commonly designated by the letters NSV.), created by order of Chancellor Hitler on May 3, 1933, and inspired by the National Socialist principle: "the individual interest must be subordinated to the general interest."

Contrary to the welfare institutions of former times, the NSV. is a creation of the entire nation. Its guiding principle is that "claims on the community can never be greater than duties towards the community." Conformably with this principle, it demands from each individual the conscientious application of all his resources in the struggle for existence in the interest of the nation; and it likewise demands of the entire nation a similar sacrifice on behalf of those individuals "in difficulties and misery."

Hitler's *dictum*: "one for all, all for one" has found in the creation of the NSV. its loftiest expression. Help for the individual in distress is no longer considered as almsgiving, but as a manifestation of the will of the community to succour its necessitous members by all the means at its disposal and to encourage them to pursue their route as free and independent personalities capable of rendering service later on to the nation, each of them in his respective sphere.

Social welfare in the National Socialist State is inspired, first and foremost, by the idea of the welfare of the entire community. If, on the one hand, its mission is not to come indiscriminately to the help of every needy person regardless of circumstances, its duty is invariably to assist deserving persons who have been deprived by a cruel destiny of the means of raising themselves by their own unaided strength. To be effective, a truly social organisation of collective welfare must not delay its assistance until a person has become sick or been otherwise reduced to helplessness; its mission is to prevent such an eventuality. Hence "prevention rather than cure" is the motto.

Whereas in former times social welfare in Germany bore a mark of compassion and was only practised in individual cases; such welfare is to-day based on a spirit of sacrifice on behalf of the community at large. Without such a spirit of sacrifice there can be no spirit of comradeship, no real friendship, and no real national solidarity. This spirit of sacrifice alone guarantees the value of human personality and the possibility of survival of a national community.

A comprehension of these fundamental principles inspiring the NSV. likewise renders comprehensible the fact that the assistance given by it is essentially of a supplementary nature—i. e. that it in nowise dispenses either the State or the municipalities from their primordial duty of helping necessitous persons.

Two fundamental principles inspire the NSV 1) the obligation for the community to contribute to the maintenance, welfare, and assistance of the people, 2) the necessity of contributing by this work to the education of the German citizen in the sense of the development of his social sentiments

Before discussing the two main institutions created by the NSV, namely, "Mother and Child" and the National Winter Help Work (*Winterhilfswerk*, commonly known for the sake of abbreviation as WHW), it is well to refer to other branches of its activity which although not so well known are not less of considerable importance

Among these minor organisations, mention should be made of the "Hitler Hospitality Fund" (*Hitler Freiplatzspende*) for the Fuhrer's old comrades in the struggle for power Thanks to this fund it has been possible to send no fewer than 532,328 members of the SA, SS and NSKK, as well as other persons for a well earned rest in the country Mention should also be made of the *Bettenaktion*, the object of which is to assure to each individual his own bed, the NSV has distributed upwards of 900,000 beds, including the linen, at a cost of 30,000,000 marks Another aspect of the activities of NSV is the placing of hundreds of thousands of "Hitler youths" in camps, where they live in tents, with the aim of developing them physically and morally

No account of the relief work undertaken in the Third Reich would be complete without a reference to the activities of the National Socialist Sisters of Charity, to the work of assistance for tuberculous persons, to the special aid furnished in the case of damage to harvests in certain regions, to the campaign against contagious diseases, to the assistance given in the event of catastrophes, etc The bare enumeration of these various social activities suffices to impart an idea of the tremendous efforts on behalf of the national welfare which are being made in contemporary Germany

"Mother and Child"

The family, as constituting the foundation of social life, is the starting point of the activities of the NSV, and the nucleus around which those activities revolve The great organisation known as "Mother and Child" was established in 1935 Its aims are alike of a hygienic and an educational nature The following are the principal tasks assigned to the organisation —

1) to contribute to suppress economic distress unfavourably influencing the health, consequently also the joy of life, of families who are otherwise physically fit Among the means envisaged for this purpose are financial relief, the procuring of work and *Wohnungshilfe*

2) To contribute to the progress of mother and child welfare from a hygienic standpoint, in the interest of the entire nation This task comprises measures on behalf of expectant mothers and women in childbed, as well as the care of young mothers and children

3) To look after children who have not yet attained the age for attending school This duty is confided to the kindergartens in town and country, especially during harvest time

The practical carrying-out of these tasks is, within each local group of the NSV., assured by an assistance office "Mother and Child," managed by a woman, which receives and studies the requests of the mothers and advises them accordingly. There are some 26,000 such offices; work in them is shared by communal sisters, matrons of homes, kindergarten governesses, and nurses. The total number of these helpers exceeds 227,000, of whom over 100,000 are voluntary workers.

The organisation is financed in the first place by subscriptions of the members of the NSV. The Führer has, in addition, provided for the financing of the big social schemes from surplus WHW. funds.

According to the statistical department of the organisation, 160 homes for children and 308 similar homes for mothers existed in 1936. The number of children who, in 1937, were enabled to enjoy a holiday in these homes or in the country was 480,000. Since the advent of the new régime the number of children who have benefited by such a change of air totals 1,800,000. 71,000 mothers and about 8,000 babies and toddlers found accommodation in the homes for mothers during the same year—making a grand total of 246,000 thus assisted since the creation of the organisation. In the summer of 1937 the NSV. ran 4,319 day nurseries and kindergartens in the country during harvesting in which an average of 103,000 children were looked after each month. So far, some 2,700,000 women have sought the assistance and advice of the "Mother and Child" offices. (See Picts. 127, 128.)

The National Winter Help (WHW.)

An appeal to the nation signed by Chancellor Hitler and the Minister of Propaganda Dr. Goebbels was issued on September 15, 1933, which under the watchword "War on Hunger and Cold" announced the creation of "Winter Help Scheme" (*Winterhilfswerk*) on a grandiose and hitherto unknown scale, in order to furnish the proof of the active solidarity of the whole German people. Contrary to similar schemes organised in the past, the carrying-out of the new plan was entrusted to the Government itself with the collaboration of the entire nation. The execution of the scheme was placed in the hands of Dr. Goebbels. All Party organisations, public authorities, industrial and commercial associations, were called upon to help in the good cause. A "Reich Committee of Organisation" came into existence, supported by provincial committees and by a Reich Advisory Committee consisting of Ministers and Reich Governors.

The question involved was one of supplementary assistance to millions of human beings. A difficult task, for the solution of which less than a fortnight was allotted, confronted the 36 men assembled three days later in Berlin, with Erich Hilgenfeldt, the leader of the NSV., in the chair, since the winter help work was scheduled to begin on October 1.

In a lecture delivered by Hilgenfeldt some time later on the occasion of a reception of the Diplomatic Corps and representatives of the foreign Press by

the Bureau for Foreign Affairs of the National Socialist Party, the lecturer described the difficulties encountered by him in carrying out the programme "no one shall suffer from hunger or cold" In order to apply the first part of the programme it was necessary to dispose of a sufficient quantity of the main articles of food to ensure that nobody in Germany need suffer the pangs of hunger In the same way, in order to realise the second part, it was indispens able to obtain immense additional supplies of fuel, notably coal

The accomplishment of this task was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that when the winter help work began its activity in 1933, not less than 17 million persons were in need of assistance, according to the definition of the word "necessitous" given by the WHW (*Winterhilfswerk*) According to this definition a "necessitous person" is a person unable to maintain himself or his family by his own resources The subsequent decrease of unemployment was accompanied by a diminution of the number of people belonging to that category, which during the second winter 1934/35 totalled 13 8 millions The number sank further to 12 9 millions in 1935/36, to 10 7 millions in 1936/37, reaching 8 9 millions in the fifth winter, that is, 1937/38 In this connection it is important to observe that the number of persons who are cared for by the WHW is greatly superior to the number of unemployed, since the WHW embraces all old age and other small pensionaries, as well as all persons of restricted means and those who had formerly been unemployed for a long period—in short, everyone who, although not included in the category of unemployed, is in need of supplementary help

Another initial difficulty to be overcome arose from the fact that the WHW did not, at the outset, possess any developed apparatus, which could only be completed in the course of time Yet during the first winter 1933/34 the WHW was able to collect a sum of over 350,000,000 marks, as compared with an average of 94 millions collected on behalf of winter relief during the two years immediately preceding the advent of the new regime The WHW furnished 350 million marks in 1933/34, about 360 million in 1934/35, 372 million in 1935/36, 408 million in 1936/37 and 410 million marks in 1937/38, that is, more than 1 9 billion marks altogether since its inauguration in 1933 These figures include both donations in cash and kind In 1936/37, 550,000 tons of potatoes, 2,100,000 tons of coal, 4,000 tons of meat and 9,300 tons of fish were distributed among the needy

How was it possible to obtain such results?

In order to answer this question it must be recalled that the WHW, which is henceforth constituted as a permanent institution of the German nation, is divided into district and local groups on the model of the National Socialist Party itself The leader of the NSV, of which the WHW forms a branch, is directly placed under the Ministry of Propaganda All the formations of the National Socialist Party, as well as the fighting forces of the Reich, the police, the Labour Front, take part in the work, in addition to the various organisa-

tions for private assistance, such as the Protestant Home Mission, the Catholic Caritas, the German Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Technical Aid, etc.[1]).

All these achievements in the domains of organisation and finance would, however, risk remaining fragmentary without the active support of an immense number of voluntary members of both sexes. During the winter season 1937/38 over one million volunteers came to the help of the good cause. Thus is explained the small amount of the administrative cost of the WHW. Already in the preceding year 1937/38, the cost of administration amounted to only 1.8% of the total amount of donations.

The most varied means are employed to obtain the necessary funds. For instance there is the "one course Sunday," on which only a single course worth at the most sixpence per person may be served, whether in families or restaurants; the profits thus realised are handed over to the WHW. On other week-ends street collections are organised, on which occasions plaques and badges are sold. Supplies of food are furnished in the country by the peasants, in the towns by wholesale and retail dealers. A certain percentage is donated from all salaries and wages. Persons with current banking accounts, as well as all industrial and commercial firms, are invited to give a monthly donation. Lotteries, the tickets for which are sold for sixpence, are organised in the streets. Leading personalities in State and Party collect money in the streets on behalf of the WHW. Best known artists co-operate voluntarily in performances of the most varied kinds. All the sums thus collected are for the benefit of the WHW. (see Picts. 123, 124, 126).

The WHW. is not less important from the standpoint of national economy. The purchase of food supplies occupies the first place in this respect. The WHW. not only represents the largest potato and flour market in the world, but is also the biggest buyer of fish and other articles of food. The supply of fish to the WHW. amounts to 20% of the total supply to the whole of Germany. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* observed that about 9,000,000 lbs. of fish were "filleted" for the account of the WHW. within two months, thus affording *employment for many hundreds of workers of both sexes in Altona. Not only* that; the big-scale action of the WHW. rendered possible for the first time, the maintenance in active service of the entire high sea fishing fleet in Altona even during those months which had hitherto been regarded as a period of inevitable stagnation for the fishing industry.

The purchases effected on behalf of the WHW. likewise exert a salutary effect on the regulation of the markets, by preventing sudden excesses of offers with their resulting fall in prices. When, during the drought in the summer of 1935, a shortage of fodder led to an increased slaughter of cattle, the WHW. expressed its readiness to take over large quantities of canned meat. In the same year the WHW. took the initiative of canning several hundreds of thousands of tons of vegetables. During the winter 1936/37 the WHW. bought up

[1]) During the winter 1937/38 a Berlin lady, Frau Friedel Schumann, rode through East Prussia and collected in all 160,000 marks for the WHW.

some 19,000,000 kilograms of fresh vegetables, which in consequence of an exceptionally good harvest could not be sold on the open market and which would have otherwise have been lost

It goes without saying that an adequate supply of coal is the main factor in the struggle waged against cold During the winter 1937/38 more than 2,100,000 tons of coal were distributed, to say nothing of peat and wood An idea of the extent of the work necessitated by such a demand, and of its economic value for the nation, can be obtained when it is borne in mind that the mines of the Saar region would be fully occupied for four months in order to supply the amount of coal required The transport of such a quantity of coal would have required 200,000 trucks—i e a goods train stretching from Berlin through the South of France right into Spain!—if a special system of distribution had not been organised

The clothes and materials hitherto distributed by the WHW would require a bale of cloth greater than the earth's circumference (42,000 kms) The 2 million pairs of house shoes and boots for the WHW relief 1937/38 were made chiefly in the border areas of the Reich

Nor must the creation of work due to the manufacture of plaques and badges for the WHW be forgotten The diamond cutting industry in Idar Oberstein was able to occupy 2,000 workers four times for twelve weeks each time Similar favourable effects were produced by the manufacture of plaques and badges in the Erzgebirge and the Thuringian Forest

In March, 1938, an unexpected and colossal demand was made on the WHW with the reincorporation of Austria which, due to its splendid organisation, it was well able to cope with Up to the beginning of June, 1938, some 5½ million dinners had been served on 200 field kitchens set up in various parts of Austria Furthermore, foodstuffs and clothing coupons to the value of 5½ million marks have been distributed Up to the same time, 92,000 children from Austria were brought to all parts of the Reich for holidays of several weeks' duration The contingent for 1938 numbers 140,000 Similarly, 60,000 men and women are also to be given a lengthier vacation in the Reich The generous lines of this relief work in Austria can be seen from the fact that up to the beginning of June, 1938, as many as 743 trucks of foodstuffs and clothing had been sent into that country By the time the WHW starts its 1938/39 operations, 1,264 more trucks of foodstuffs, particularly potatoes, grain, fats, sugar, meats and cereals will have made their way into Austria There are to be 73 trucks bearing clothing, principally shoes, suits, dresses and underclothes By September, 1938, 85 million marks will have been made available for alleviating the more urgent distress

The favourable effects produced by the WHW and their importance for the German economy are recognisable even in distant regions The Christmas trees distributed under its auspices total more than 10% of the entire consumption of Christmas trees in Germany, whilst the number of books distributed by it is three times greater than the annual number of books published in Germany Hence the WHW has developed into an indispensable factor of German economic life

It should be emphasised that the WHW. exercises its activity without any regard to politics, race, or nationality. As Chancellor Hitler said at the opening of the winter season 1935/36: "we exclude nobody. We combat the Communists and we strike them down if necessary. But if a Communist says 'I am hungry' then he must be given food." The number of foreigners who received assistance in 1937/38 was approximately 90,000. Jews in poor circumstances are given assistance through the offices of the Jewish WHW.

The account given above will, it may be hoped, suffice to give the reader a general view of the immense task accomplished by the WHW.—an example of national solidarity which cannot fail to impress even a prejudiced observer. It cannot be denied that the WHW. has furnished a new proof of that "Socialism in action," the activity of which can be witnessed also in other domains of life in contemporary Germany.

Hitler knows from his own experience how difficult is the workers' struggle for existence, since he was himself a working man who shared toil and distress, but also hope and belief in social justice, with his comrades. By his intellectual qualities and his force of character he has succeeded in raising himself from the ranks of the masses to the position of leader of a nation. Hence when he took upon himself to endeavour to solve the problems of social welfare and social happiness, he did so with personal knowledge of the indispensable conditions of such a solution.

X

Housing and Home Settlements

A solution of the problem of housing and home settlements was more urgently necessary for the new Germany than for any other country, since on it depended the possibility of accomplishing the social and economic problems which she has set herself Hence the new regime has applied all its resources to the solution of the problem in question All the competent organs of State and Party are now working together in view of the execution of a gigantic programme com prising all branches of the building trade Included in this programme are the transformations rendered necessary in urban areas by modern hygienic require-ments One of the principles underlying the new housing plans is to afford families the possibility of development, whilst home settlements to ensure the possession of the soil for the racially and morally fittest elements of the popu lation

At the same time all these measures have the result of creating new work and of thereby imparting fresh activity to economic life

The Housing Problem

The increasing demand for dwellings, attributable mainly to the large increase in the number of marriages, made the necessity felt of hastening the building of suitable dwellings with the help of the State This help chiefly assumes the form of guarantees calculated to encourage private initiative to furnish the necessary means The direct supply by the State of funds for building purposes is limited to the fulfilment of certain obligations which private economy would be unable to carry out

The most urgent necessity confronting the authorities was to provide so called "emergency homes," the growing demand for which had placed the municipalities before a problem which became constantly more difficult to solve in the measure that the economic crisis became more intense The number of homeless families continuously augmented; and, moreover, the law concern-ing "scarcity of dwellings," which had hitherto enabled the municipalities to take possession of old dwellings in order to house therein homeless families, expired at the end of April, 1933 On the other hand, existing police and adminis trative regulations compelled the municipalities to provide shelter for such families Having regard to this situation the Reich Government immediately placed 15 million marks at the disposal of the municipalities for building pur-poses, and thus rendered possible the construction of some 14,000 dwellings

These dwellings have for the most part taken the form of lodgings in two-floor houses with a garden, the object being to place large families as far as possible in natural and healthy surroundings, and thereby develop their attachment to the soil.

Developments on the housing market showed, moreover, that the measures hitherto adopted were insufficient to enable those classes of the population forced to live in overcrowded tenement houses to exchange their unhealthy dwellings for others more suited to the requirements of modern hygiene. Hence other efforts had to be made to come to the assistance of those who suffered most from the housing crisis and who were quite unable to help themselves.

The Reich Government decided to build houses with cheap dwellings for one or several families, the rent of which is adapted to the very limited means of the masses of the working-class population. To this end some 70 million marks were appropriated up to the end of 1937 under the Law of March 30, 1935, for building loans (from 1,000 to 2,000 marks), which was instrumental in 69,000 dwellings being completed. At the beginning of May, 1938, the Reich Minister of Labour allocated an additional 48 million marks for Government loans to continue these operations. Thus 118 million marks all told have been made available so far for this activity. As the average Government loan amounts to 1,300 marks, the above mentioned 48 million marks will suffice for 30,000 dwellings.

Contrary to the tenement houses of the preceding era, these "houses for the people" must on principle be semi-detached or built in rows, and each may contain only two floors (i. e. ground floor and first floor). Only in the event of there being insufficient ground available for building purposes, or if such ground is too expensive, may these houses have two, or at the most three, storeys in addition to the ground floor (see Pict. 129).

Each house must have as large a garden as possible. Particular importance is attached to the rent, which as a general rule may not exceed one-fifth of the tenant's income. Should, in course of time, the tenant's financial position improve, or should his family increase, his dwelling must as far as possible be enlarged or suitable alterations be made therein.

One of the most pressing tasks of the new régime was the improvement of sanitary conditions in the towns—a task, the accomplishment of which had been perpetually postponed in previous years. The hygienic and social conditions which had arisen in consequence in a number of towns could no longer be tolerated. Between 1933 and 1935 the Reich appropriated about twenty million marks for this purpose. Compared with the importance of the problem, the satisfactory solution of which will require several decades, the sum may appear small. The main thing, however, was to encourage the municipalities to take the matter in hand and to organise a systematic study of a new and difficult question.

Work in this direction has begun in ten large cities, whilst about twenty smaller towns have sufficiently advanced their preparations for hygienic re-

organisation for it to be possible for the Reich to place subsidies at their dis posal Mention should also be made of the important sums appropriated by the Government for the repair or completion of buildings, for the partition of large apartments, and for the transformation of other premises into dwellings (Cf the section 'The Battle of Labour" in chapter VIII) Upwards of 250 000 new dwellings have been built, which may be considered a satisfactory result

Apart from the encouragement given by the various measures enumerated above, it has been possible to obtain in an ever increasing degree the participation of private capital in the construction of houses and of urban settlements, under the form of hypothecary credits guaranteed by the Reich Financial support in all such cases rests on a sure foundation The constructors have generally themselves invested a considerable capital in the various undertakings Up till now the guarantees assumed by the Reich amount to about 500 million marks

Hence it proved possible to give a tremendous impetus to the building of dwellings in the new Germany Whereas the number of dwellings built in 1932 amounted to 159,121, reaching 202,113 in 1933, 319,939 in 1934, 263,810 in 1935, 332,370 in 1936 and 340,392 in 1937 Altogether 677,870 blocks of flats with 1 458,124 flats have been erected since January 30, 1933 According to estimates of the Reich Statistical Bureau the prospects for house construction during 1938 continue favourable Provisional estimates give the number of dwellings completed in the first quarter 1938 at 15,000 more than in the same period of the year before

Measures have been taken to encourage the development of good taste in architecture, to obtain the best artistic results possible under prevailing eco nomic conditions, and to prevent the excesses of individualism

Home Settlements

One of the articles of the programme of the National Socialist Party states "We wish to create a new home for the German worker We wish to build healthy dwellings with the necessary light and fresh air and sunshine for healthy future generations " The building of new dwellings and the organ isation of home settlements are intended to contribute to the realisation of these *desiderata*

One of the principle aims of the social policy of the Third Reich has been the development of home settlements The exploitation of such a settlement has the advantage of considerably improving the standard of life of the worker, and also of affording him protection in difficult times The National Socialist regime likewise encourages this development for ethnical and national reasons From the National Socialist standpoint, conditions in Germany must be such as to assure a solid basis of existence to every worker and to confer on him a share in the possession of the national soil, thereby teaching him to love his country and developing within him the will to defend it This is the principal meaning of the new housing policy, of which the work relating to home settle ments forms only a part

An increase of wages invariably entails an increase of prices, and in the long run the former becomes illusory in view of the increased cost of living. Hence the necessity of maintaining a fixed level of prices. From the National Socialist standpoint, an improvement in the standard of living is not incompatible with a stabilisation of wages and prices thanks to the creation of home settlements.

The ownership of a house and of the ground on which it stands, the exploitation for one's own benefit of a rural property, however small, contribute to raise the standard of living, since it enables the family to reduce its purchases of food. On the other hand, the savings thus made can be applied to the satisfaction of other needs, such as clothing or furniture, etc. In this way the settler also furnishes work to others.

A home settlement thus means better housing, better food, and security of work for the settler, consequently the improvement in the standard of living of his family. Home settlements are also a factor in the "battle of production;" they contribute to render Germany independent of food imports and to the intensification of her economic life.

The aims of the German home settlement work were defined by Chancellor Hitler in a proclamation dated March 29, 1934, in which, after having described that work as one of the important and most difficult tasks of the Reich, he ordered that measures should immediately be taken to ensure a homogeneous organisation of home settlements throughout the entire Reich, whereby the experiences of the past should be utilised in so far as they were of value and avoided if they had proved detrimental.

The carrying-out of the work was based on the conviction that in view of the present economic structure of Germany, a complete reorganisation of the German "vital sphere" was indispensable, and that the housing schemes of the National Socialist régime could not be better realised than by the creation of small settlements.

Hence the small settlement forms the basis of the whole housing policy of the new régime, which rightly sees in it the best form of settlement for the poorer classes of the population, since it affords the German worker the possibility of supplementing his slender income by the self-production of a considerable part of his requirements. Over and above this, it is calculated to awaken his love for the native soil. The organisation of the small settlements consequently is a most important measure of national policy under all its varied aspects. It has been powerfully encouraged by means of loans and guarantees by the Reich, and also by the granting of numerous fiscal and administrative privileges and facilities (see Pict. 131). This fundamental readjustment was effected by the Reich Ministry of Labour as the competent department for the housing and settlement policy of the Government in close association with the Reich Home Settlement Office of the German Labour Front in Berlin. The latter with its various regional branches is concerned with the social aspects of these homes, more especially the family farms. By indicating ways and means of construction and fostering healthy and attractive living, the Bureau exerts

an active influence on building operations and inter alia assists and advises with regard to the financing, selection of settlers, organisation of self-assistance and training for intending settlers, etc.

Under the new regulations all respectable German citizens of limited means, of Aryan descent, who are racially and physically fit, and whose national and political reliability is unimpeachable, can become settlers, as can also their wives. Contrary to what was formerly the case, special encouragement is given to the settlement of workers regularly employed in industry, particularly if those workers belong to undertakings which have financially aided the settlement.

Economic considerations predominate in all measures relating to the organisation of home settlements. In order to assure as far as possible sound investments, it is enacted that settlements shall only be established in such places where the permanent economic welfare of the settlers appears assured. Settler candidates are submitted to a rigorous selection by the competent offices of the Labour Front; if necessary, a medical examination is also required. Particular attention is paid to the suitability of the ground on which the settlement is to be established, and also to the questions of the purchase price and the rate of interest. The main object in view is that the economic basis of the future settler's existence is assured. Hence, on principle, only those candidates are accepted for settlement who are in possession of a stable income derived from their professional work.

The cost of establishing a settlement, and the expense resulting therefrom for the individual settler, must as a matter of principle be reduced to a minimum. With this aim in view it is enacted that, apart from the ground, the costs of building and the general costs of establishment must not exceed 4,000 marks; in exceptional cases, however, they may amount to 6,000 and even 7,000 marks. Amortisation and interest together must not exceed 35 marks a month, in exceptional cases 40 marks. In no case may they exceed one-fourth of the settler's cash income.

Every settlement must comprise 1,000 square metres of land, suitable for exploitation in order to afford the settler a sufficient material basis of existence. The houses, of simple design, must be solidly built and planned with a view to the convenience of their inhabitants. Friendly assistance and advice is always at the disposal of the settler in order to assure the success of the venture.

Small settlements have thus been established on an entirely new economic basis, and their future development is financed by new methods. Whereas originally the costs of construction and establishment of the various settlements were almost entirely covered by means of loans granted by the Reich; these costs, as well as those necessitated by the purchase of the land, are henceforth furnished to a large extent by private capital by means of first and second mortgages. Moreover, the settlers must themselves contribute from 10 to 15% of the value of buildings and land. Hence financial contributions by the Reich are limited to general assistance.

The impetus thus given to the establishment of home settlements is proved by the fact that whereas from 1931 till April 1933 nearly 30,000 small settlements were established, no fewer than 17,611 were established alone during the last two months of 1933. In 1934 the number of new settlements was 30,628; and in 1935/36 their number was 91,000 (not including some 12,000 which were in process of construction at the end of 1936). In 1937 there were 31,260, which is 10.2% of all new dwellings in housing blocks.

Not less than the small settlements, the encouragement of the building of owner-occupied houses is intended to familiarise the idea of the linking-up the population with its native soil (see Pict. 132). The loans originally granted by the Reich for the construction of small homes were supplemented by a sum of twenty million marks appropriated for the purpose in September, 1933, under the terms of the law for the reduction of unemployment. The action on behalf of the acquisition of owner-occupied homes was completed by a contribution of 7,000,000 marks placed by the Reich Institute of Unemployment Insurance at the disposal of the construction of such homes. The number of owner-occupied homes built in consequence of these measures amounts to about 30,000.

Since, however, the action in question has given, outside the immediate sphere of its application, a powerful impetus to the building of owner-occupied homes without recourse to public funds, the success of the measures adopted is far greater. This success finds its expression in the fact that owner-occupied homes constitute one-third of the dwellings built by help of Reich subsidies.

Dwellings for agricultural labourers (see Pict. 130) built in the course of preceding years required radical and urgent measures with the aim of consolidating the proprietorship of their owners and rendering them independent of the situation on the labour market. About 8,000,000 marks were appropriated for this purpose. Many settlers were thus able to purchase more land, to enlarge their sheds and other outhouses and to rear livestock. It was also possible to facilitate the economic situation of the owner-occupier by postponing the payment of instalments on his debt in case of illness or untoward circumstances.

The law of March 30, 1935, destined to further the construction of dwellings, appropriated 12,500,000 marks for the building of owner-occupied homes for agricultural handicraftsmen and labourers. Conformably with the same law plans have been drawn up for the building of 7,000 homes or settlements for workers employed in the aircraft industry.

The Future Housing Programme

The forms which the future housing programme in Germany will assume have to a large extent been determined by the policy pursued in this respect since 1933. Apart from purely rural settlements, three groups of houses and settlements can be distinguished, namely, small settlements, owner-occupied homes, and rented homes.

Small settlements represent that form of housing of the working classes which most closely corresponds to the ideal of the National Socialist Government The small settler's house is simple, but of sufficient dimensions Every small settlement, moreover, includes a garden which affords the settler and his family the possibility of procuring part of their food for themselves The small settlement is thus a source of supplementary earnings

The owner occupied home—whether in the form of detached or semi detached houses or of houses built in rows—also has a garden which, however, is mainly ornamental The house is generally inhabited by its own builder and landlord Hence the owner occupied home remains, for the most part, reserved for the middle classes

Rented homes, in houses consisting of one or two floors in addition to the ground floor, are indispensable for those sections of the population which, on the one hand, are not adapted to the running of a small settlement, and, on the other, lack sufficient funds to build their own home The need for rented homes makes itself especially felt in districts which are unsuited for the construction of settlements, i e in large cities

A fundamental principle of the housing programme is that all houses and settlements—except, of course, those specially built for themselves by wealthy owners—must be, alike as regards their size and their fittings, as unpretentious as possible in order to adapt the rents to the limited means of the working masses Improvements may be made in owner occupied homes later on *pari passu* with an increase in the owner's spending power and the growing need for more space, for instance, attic flats, whether independent or not, can be built With regard to rented homes, the aim is to build them in such a way that large flats can if necessary, be divided up into small ones without too great an expense being entailed

The influence exerted by inadequate purchasing power on the demand for dwellings, especially in the case of families living in rented homes, was brought to light in the course of a discussion at the Congress of German Municipalities in 1935 Answers to a questionnaire on this subject yielded the following results in the autumn of 1934, in nearly all parts of the Reich, more than one third of the demands was for two room flats, about one fourth was for one room flats and less than one fifth was for settlement houses It will be seen from this, that the demand for rented homes is very large Efforts will be made during the next few years to satisfy this demand by a methodical transfer of settlements from the area of large cities to the smaller towns and rural areas

More than one half of the houses which are to be built within the next ten years is destined for the poorer classes of the population On the basis of the average income today in Germany, the working man should pay a maximum monthly rent of about 26 marks, and the employee 45 marks

Two special tasks have been set for the building and, more especially, the housing and settlement policies under the Four Year Plan namely, the erection

of homes for rural labour and of dwellings for the workers and employees of what might be termed the Four Year Plan factories.

In order to increase agricultural production, permanent and trained labour must be available. Above all the younger generation is to be kept on the land and the tendency to migrate into the cities effectively combatted. One of the chief causes of the latter is inadequate and dilapidated living quarters. According to investigations made by the Reich Nutrition Estate there is a shortage of 350,000 farm dwellings. Nor is it sufficient to erect, as was formerly the case, rows of houses for one or more families with inadequate stables and sheds. The farm hand must have his own house to live in with sufficient yard space and outhouses as well as his plot of land. This is the only way he can increase his income by his own efforts and so make life worth living on the land.

The importance of the proper housing of rural labour can be seen from the fact that on March 10, 1937, Minister President Göring at the suggestion of the respective Ministers issued a "Decree for Speedy Erection of Suitable Housing for Rural Apprentices and Homes for agricultural Workers and Craftsmen." As to the provision of housing facilities for the people employed in the new industries, etc., this is a project which has an immediate demand. As these new industries will be required to start off immediately with a maximum output and will be operated by a big complement of hands it is, of course, necessary that factories and the necessary housing facilities are ready at one and the same time. The Commissioner for the Four Year Plan, therefore, requested all Departments concerned in Party and State to see that this work is carried through with a minimum amount of friction throughout. And, as a matter of fact, several thousands of such houses are already under construction. At the same time, the aims of the Government housing policy are observed in that most of them have been established in the form of small settlements and family homes. The management of the various undertakings have assisted the financial side by giving loans, thus making things very much easier.

Numerous organisations cooperate in the task of creating home settlements. All the various departments of the Labour Front are at the disposal of the authorities for this purpose. The officials of those departments carry out the duties entrusted to them, although such duties embrace a wide scope and are frequently complicated, in return for a very modest remuneration. They are assisted in their task by the municipalities who sell the ground required at the lowest possible price and who reduce proportionately all the other costs entailed. The authorities who are empowered to grant State aid in the shape of loans, guarantees, or reduction of taxation, have the duty of looking after the beneficiaries and of furnishing them with all the aid of which they may stand in need.

The common aim of all these efforts is that the schemes of home settlements may be carried out for the benefit of the family. In this common endeavour to encourage the building of workers' dwellings, the municipalities and the other authorities as well as the settlers themselves collaborate with the Labour Front for the development of the settlement idea in every conceivable

form. Settlements are built alternately with "houses for the people" and owner-occupied homes, so that all reasonable demands of those in search of accommodation may be satisfied under the conditions, however, that true community settlements shall result, that is, that all class and professional distinctions are brushed aside.

Settlements in contemporary Germany are "community institutions" in the best sense of the word, where no class distinctions are known. Neighbourly relations and a common task beget, in the conviction of the National Socialists, a true national community.

All efforts connected with housing in Germany have a particularly interesting aspect as, in contrast to most other civilised countries, they are concerned not only with the actual 4 walls but with furniture and fixtures as well. Consideration has been given to German needs and taste in the mode of living and all tendencies toward deviation or decay in housing standards are systematically opposed when introducing new ideas. As in the treatment of the housing question so also with regard to furniture and fittings, artistic and cultural lines are followed in keeping with National Socialism, one might say, primarily with the social idea of National Socialism. This is visible in the matter of price.

The entire work done in this sphere can readily be understood by anyone who has had opportunity to note the naturally high standard of housing cultivated by the Germans.

SECOND PART

"Action and self-creative achievement are the best gradnators for measuring our capabilities." *Dr. Joseph Goebbels*

XI.

Germany's New Economic Outlook

Let us start with fundamentals. Economic policy, as universally understood, is the adoption and application of measures of all kinds for the regulation of production, distribution and consumption of goods vital to the satisfaction of human requirements.

These tasks have always remained substantially the same and are not subjected to any great modifications by virtue of cultural, social and political considerations. Nevertheless, they have undergone varying forms of development in different countries and at various periods of history. Moreover, the benefits to be derived from economic development have not always been enjoyed by the same strata of human society. Take the capitalist system, for instance. Here all economic growth is governed by the principle of profit-making for personal gain. The capitalist system is seen bestowing its blessing upon the exploitation of human labour for the sake of ensuring the personal aggrandisement of the entrepreneur, industrialist or business magnate. It was in the nature of things that this system, which has now been definitely discarded by Germany, should give rise to the Marxian type of economic socialism based on the class struggle and envisaging the unqualified victory of the proletariat over capitalism to be achieved by inducing the worker to cut himself entirely adrift from the employer even at the cost of ruining the latter and disrupting the economic life of the nation.

The Appeal to Common Sense

The Marxian doctrine stands at one end of the pole. We have to look to the other end to discover the guiding principles of Germany's new economic outlook. Like all other expressions of National Socialist philosophy, these principles are governed by the supreme conception of the political community. National Socialists hold that the forces and energies which a people is capable of developing by the right use of its physical and spiritual powers, and by the full utilisation of the natural resources of its own country constitute the real wealth of the nation. The economy of a people, viewed as the development of these racial and geographical forces, is therefore the guardian and bearer of the national wealth. Hence, everyone who is engaged in this economic process, no matter

whether his rank or position is high or low, or whether he is or is not able to develop his innate capabilities to the fullest extent, should feel his share of responsibility for the welfare of the nation as a whole

It stands to reason, then, that those who, under Germany's present regime, come forward to do their bit, great or small, towards the task of national integration place themselves under an obligation In other words, they become responsible persons This obligation grows in proportion to the size of their share in the administration of the nation's wealth Each has his share, even if it be no more than the value of the product of his hands or his purely physical energies

This point can be expressed in a different way The worker fulfils his duty towards the community as a whole when responding to a sense of mateship and acting as a self respecting member of the community, he performs the work taken on by him in a conscientious manner, taking good care of the tools and materials entrusted to him The peasant or farm labourer does his duty as member of the community when he devotes himself to the proper cultivation of the land which is the national heritage, striving to obtain the best possible results He becomes the nation's food winner and it is expected of him that he purveys the fruits of the soil to his people at prices within the reach of all those of his compatriots engaged in work of a creative character The man in charge of a business undertaking does his duty when as entrepreneur, industrialist, business man or artisan he concentrates his efforts on the task of fulfilling a public function, this inner conviction will help to promote the success of his activities, that is, his gain is the promotion of the welfare of the community

"We are all in the same boat," declared Dr Schacht, Reichsbank President, in the course of that memorable speech he delivered some two years ago at Königsberg "There is only one thing to do we must put our trust in the seaworthiness of this boat and in the skipper who is in command"

This subordination of all phases of economic life in Germany to the supreme idea of the social community finds its most tangible expression in the governmental programme which Chancellor Hitler incorporated in his first address to the Reichstag "The nation does not live for the sake of the economic system, and the economic system does not exist for the sake of Capital, on the contrary, Capital is the servant of the economic system and the economic system the servant of the people"

Another important point Germany's present economic system is based on the principles "Right to Work" and "Maximum Efficiency" Economic policy, as formulated by Adolf Hitler, is the sum of all economic measures designed to achieve national totality and to safeguard the existence of all workers The general insistence on service as a self imposed duty is a guarantee for the maintenance of the social community as well as its national vitality and strength

The identical train of thought holds good when we turn to consider the nature of Germany's commercial relations To be sure, "Supply and Demand" continues to be the guiding principle in this domain, but the new outlook presupposes

the building up of an economic order of things which finds a place in its scheme of things for the ethical aspects of the economic system, in the realm of production as well as in the field of marketing. Therefore the National Socialist State itself takes charge of production and marketing. Self-interest which cannot be divorced from private enterprise can no longer, under these new circumstances, operate to the detriment of the general welfare of the nation as happened in the Germany of the past. The individual comes to realise that his own interests are advanced when he identifies them with the common good.

Another principle of National Socialist economic policy affirms that everything falling under the heading of economic achievement can be reduced to a question of capability. Hitler made a public utterance to this effect when one of his most ardent followers deemed it necessary to insist on carrying "co-ordination" to the extent of having efficient business leaders removed from their posts of trust and replaced by Party members who, though able to point to a fine political record, were without the requisite technical or commercial qualifications. Experience gathered during the first few months following the accession of Hitler to power, served to bear convincing testimony to the soundness of this viewpoint, whose disregard was everywhere invariably signalled by derangements in the proper management of affairs. "Industry," Dr. Schacht is always insisting, "is an extremely sensitive organism, and any disturbance from whatsoever side it may come, acts like sand in the cogs of a machine."

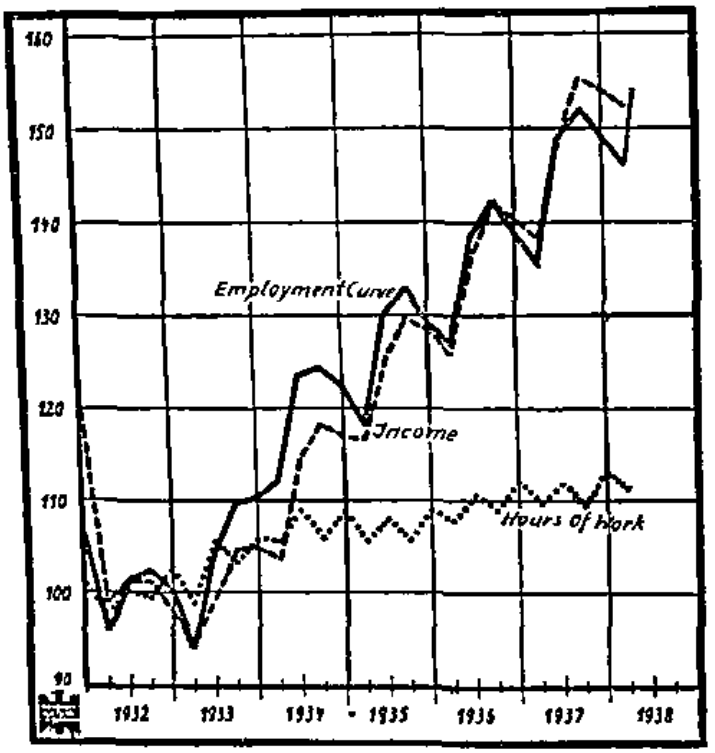
The Economic Régime

Prejudices aside, anybody visiting Germany again for the first time after an interval of five years, cannot fail to be impressed by all the obvious signs of an economic renascence. Particularly so if he makes a point of visiting any of the industrial centres. The environs of Berlin would suffice, not to mention those beehives of activity clustering around Essen in Westphalia, and Dresden in Saxony. He would see factories, formerly dilapidated and closed down, now reopened and refitted, working once again under normal conditions. He would see the army of employed workers increased by hundreds of thousands, and above all, note the loading ramps piled high with commodities, stand amazed at the sight of the constant stream of big transport lorries, each with its four-wheeled or six-wheeled trailer. It would be brought home to him with striking force that all the signs and portents, which five years ago told the story of business depression, had vanished into thin air and been replaced by an auspicious display of reawakened enterprise. Now let us suppose that he wanted to probe the real reason for this economic revival. Actually, he would not have to go far in quest of the facts. A mere glance at the official figures would serve as a prelude to an understanding of what has really happened.

Apart from the fact that unemployment has been overcome and more than 3 million new hands have become part of the productive machinery, the daily working hours have risen from 7.26 to 7.86, unemployment relief has dropped from 3.2 to 0.3 milliard marks, and the Reich tax returns grown

by 7.3 milliard, industrial production has increased in value from 39.9 milliard in 1933 to more than 75 milliard marks in 1937. During 5 years of National Socialist economic policy the manufacture of paper has increased by 50%, that of Diesel oil by 66%, coal 68%, fuel oil 80%, mineral oil 90%, rayon 100%, luminous oil 110%, steel 167%, lubricating oil 190%, petrol and other fuels 470%, aluminium 570% and fibre wool 2,500% etc.

The confidence of the people in its economic policy finds expression in savings bank deposits. In the public savings banks the deposits increased from 11.4 milliard in 1932 to 12.1 milliard in 1933, reaching 14.6 milliard in 1936 and 16.1 in 1937. The output of coal amounted to 104.7 million tons in 1932, 109.7 million in 1933, 124.9 million in 1934, 143 million in 1935, 158 million in 1936 and 184.5 million tons in 1937. The output of lignite presents a similar picture: 122.65 million tons in 1932, 126.79 in 1933, 137.27 in 1934, 147 million in 1935, 161.37 in 1936 and 184 million tons in 1937.



Employment and Working Income in Germany
(1st Quarter 1932 = 100)

A no less impressive curve is furnished by the German production of steel and cast goods, as well as in her iron output. In 1933 German steel production amounted to 9.660 million tons increasing to 13.555 in 1934, 16.010 in 1935, 18.614 in 1936 and 19.202 million tons in 1937. In 1938 it is expected to reach approximately 21 million tons. Castings rose from 1.4 to 3.7 million tons in the same period. German iron ore production comprised 1.3 million tons in 1932, attaining 2.6 million tons in 1933, 4.3 in 1934, 6 in 1935, 7.5 in 1936 and 9.6 million tons in 1937.

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that this palpable material success is the thing that counts most of all. There is another and more telling aspect of the matter. The business man or entrepreneur of yesterday had, by force of habit, made a practice of devoting hours of his time to a close study of market fluctuations. He judged the degree of his success or failure by the story to be read within the covers of his own account book. Or he read the verdict pronounced by the yearly issue of the Statistical Bureau. These things belong definitely to the past. In the intervening years, he has been given a very good object lesson which has served to bring home to him the fact that the importance

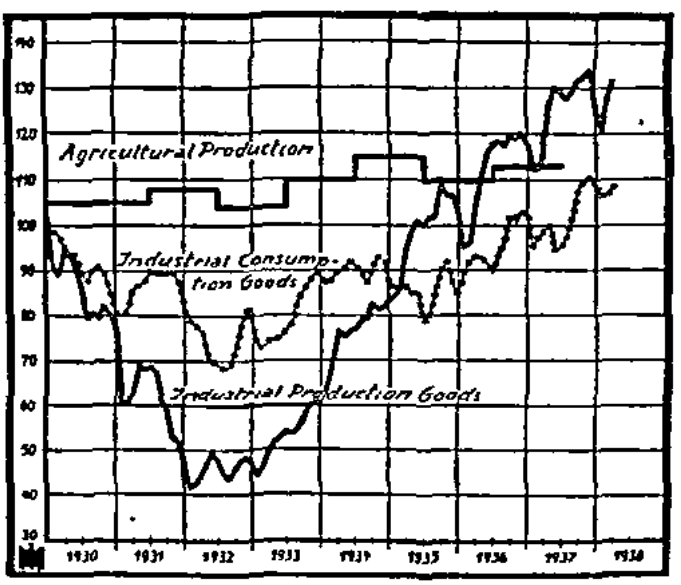
of "figures," pure and simple, aside from their immediate practical value of course, can be largely influenced by considerations which lie beyond the domain of calculation and profit-assessment.

These years of national rejuvenation have served to strengthen the German business community in its present conviction that political factors and State guidance play a supreme role in influencing developments. And this holds true of those which, at first glance, seem to have precious little to do with business or industry.

General confidence in the stability and future of the present régime is having a fruitful effect upon business and industrial activity of all descriptions. Small trader and big industrialist alike feel safely armed to meet and surmount all lets and hindrances lurking in the road of progress. Their armour is the comforting knowledge that today they do not stand alone. The duality of State and Industry is being forged and moulded into a higher unity. The class struggle has been rooted out of the social organism and the entire nation has struck out along new paths which will eventually lead to the ultimate achievement of a social synthesis of the entire nation, a synthesis in which the industrial leader and his following, employer and employed, are united by bonds of comradeship and common effort. All these achievements have had the immediate effect of casting off the shackles imposed in the past upon the creative energies of the toiling masses. Labour and common drudgery are transformed into joyful occupation. The conception of "productive labour" is able to triumph over crass materialism. It has become a conception of fulfilling one's duty towards the nation and sharing in the responsibility for the destiny of the nation as a whole.

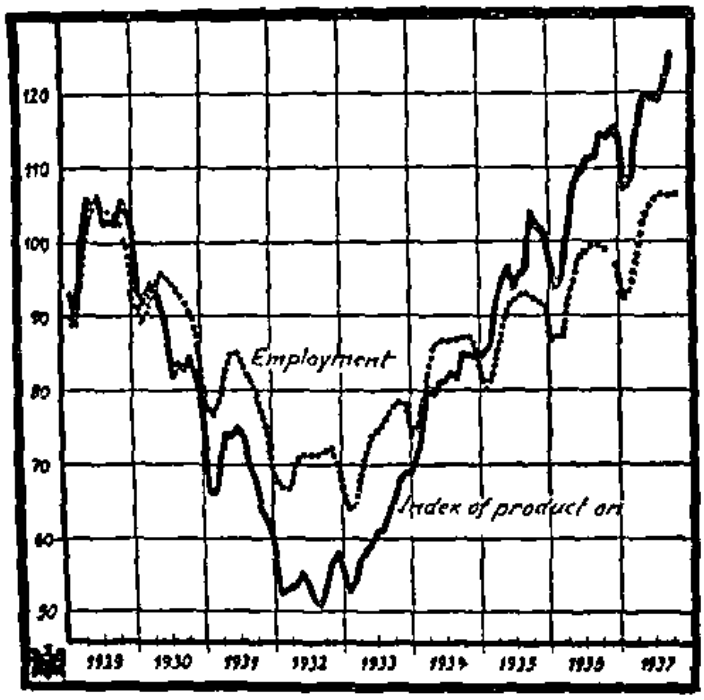
How have these successes been achieved? What were the guiding principles and organisational measures adopted?

In his programmatical declaration, to which we have already alluded, Adolf Hitler announced that the new German government would pledge itself "to promote the economic interests of the German people, not by the devious way of getting the State to organise an industrial bureaucracy but by the most active encouragement of private initiative and recognition of private property."



Production in Germany (1928 = 100)

First and foremost, and as a point which cannot be sufficiently emphasised, is the recognition of the principle that, in contradiction to what is going on in Soviet Russia, the State has the mission of guiding industrial



Employment And Production (1928 = 100)

effort but not of engaging in direct industrial activity itself Almost of equal importance is the principle of private owner ship of property as it gives the industrial leader the incentive to develop his undertaking and to achieve a maximum of efficiency and success

The guiding lines for the re organisation of German industrial life along National Socialist lines are derived from these two car dinal principles Industry is left alone to manage its own affairs, but this management must take the form of working in close co operation, in an advisory and protective manner, with all its affiliated groups and corporations and with the individual members of these bodies It undertakes to keep the Government informed about the position and requirements of the various branches of industry on the assumption that all are actively engaged in the task of national integration

The National Socialists were no sooner in power, in the year 1933, than they took upon themselves to reorganise the entire structure of German industry The big existing associations were divided into groups with full provision for co ordination Up to the Spring of 1934, matters had progressed so far that Dr Schmitt, then German Minister of Economics, was able, on February 27, 1934, to promulgate the Law relating to the "Plan for the Organic Integration of German Industry" The law in question divided German industry into thir teen main groups It summoned the leader of the German economic regime and his deputy to take charge of the new organisation Later, on November 27, when Dr Schacht had taken over the Ministry of Economics, this organisation was transformed by the first of a series of official decrees, designed to realise the organic integration of German industry, into a system of chambers each representing one of the various branches of industry or a regional sector of it The office of the controller of the economic regime was dissolved The Reich Chamber of Economics came into existence as a sort of clearing house for the newly created Reich Federations The organisation of the economic regime now assumed the following aspect —

The Reich Chamber of Economics, as the governing body, is composed of the German Federation of Industries (with its seven chief groups), the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts, the Reich Federation of Trade and Com merce, the Reich Federation of Banking, the Reich Federation of Private

Insurance and the Reich Federation of Power Industry The organisation, in its totality, is subject to the control of the German Minister of Economics who has the right to appoint or remove from office the president of the Reich Chamber of Economics and his deputy, as well as the presidents of the various individual federations

The initial decree for achieving this reorganisation of German industrial life in all its manifold phases has brought the regional bodies into existence Actually, the Reich Chamber of Economics is divided into eighteen regional chambers Each Reich federation is organised in regional groups, and in district and local groups in the case of the Central Association of Retailers The Chambers of Commerce and Industry are governing bodies within the orbit of the Reich Chamber of Economics

The Reich Federation of German Handicrafts plays a particularly noteworthy part in promoting the integration of the economic regime It is organised on the lines of the ancient guild system Supreme authority is vested in the Reich Mastercraftsman, who, at the same time, presides over the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts as well as over the German Chamber of Handicrafts The Reich Federation in this industry is composed of fifty guild societies, whilst no less than sixty one Chambers of Handicrafts are affiliated to the German Handicraft Convention for the purpose of exchanging technical knowledge and intervocational information on matters concerning the handicraft profession

This rigid regimentation of the handicraft profession on a guild basis deserves to be noted as it makes the Reich Federation of German Handicraft differ considerably from the other federations To be sure, strong trends in the same direction of highly centralised control made themselves felt during the early phases of the organisation of the other industrial trades But trends of this sort soon gave way to regional considerations Proof of this is provided by the second Government Decree issued with a view to expediting the reorganisation of German industrial life It was promulgated as early as September 25, 1935, and its main object was to give a greater latitude to the regional organisation and to lead away from the idea of a central authority controlling the broad activities of each branch of trade The Decree of the German Minister of Economics, dated July 7, 1936, stressed this need for decentralisation and is, at the same time, an exhortation to pay special attention to regional interests and considerations

The new order of industrial activity is based on the assumption that each business man, industrialist or entrepreneur in the National Socialist state must accept full responsibility for the management of his own affairs What was needed was an organisation so devised that it provides every possibility for the exercise of the powers of an authoritarian State whilst, at the same time, giving those lined up in the economic front the fullest assurance of being able to get their experiences and requirements brought through the active trade groups and regional industrial chambers to the notice of the powers above Authoritarian guidance of industrial effort and self government in industry do not therefore exclude one another, but are reciprocal functions

The Leipzig Agreement of March 1935 (see chapter "Social Policy") has formulated the principles to be followed for bringing about collaboration between the industrial organisation and the German Labour Front in accordance with the National Socialist conception of the national and social synthesis.

Following the example set by the German Labour Front, social honour courts have been established by the Reich Chamber of Economics. Industrial chambers are also in favour of setting up social honour courts of their own. Here we see the beginnings of a new order of things in industry. No longer any free associations of persons banded together for the purpose of safeguarding their interests, but a unified, well-defined organisation responsive to State guidance and pledged to serve the State and formed on the basis of compulsory membership. The conception of national economy has therefore undergone an organic transformation of a kind that has spelt the end of the era in which each strove for his own private gain. It signals the inauguration of a new era in which the general welfare ranks higher than the profits of the individual trader.

Such is the nature of the organisation which holds the secret of the German industrial unity in outlook and in action. Together with the capable and farsighted State guidance, it furnishes an explanation for all that has been achieved up to the present.

Handicrafts

Testimony to the important part played in German industry by handicrafts is furnished by the following figures: The German handicrafts industry, at the time of its reorganisation, was made up of 1,542,000 independent undertakings employing in all approximately 1,050,000 craftsmen and assistants, 300,000 unskilled workers, 500,000 apprentices, 100,000 employees, such as clerks, draughtsmen, salesmen, etc., and 250,000 additional home industry workers. The industry thus employed a total of upwards of four million persons. Actually, about eight million persons, that is to say, one eighth of the entire population of Germany, are today still living on the proceeds of the handicraft industry.

The handicraft industry has always been the first to suffer a setback in times of business depression. Particularly so in Germany. At the time when the above figures held good, Germany's six million army of unemployed was largely drawn from the ranks of the handicraft industry. The turnover had slumped from an average of 22 milliard marks to 10 milliard marks.

Now let us consider the progress that has been made during the last five years.

A good start in the right direction was made by the Law of November 29, 1933, which, as we have already intimated, placed the organisation of the handicraft industry (Reich Federation of German Handicrafts) under the complete control of the Reich Mastercraftsman. The number of guilds was reduced from 19,000 by reorganising them into 16,000 guilds with compulsory membership for all engaged in the trade, which comprised about 130 different handicraft professions for general classification purposes. The reorganisation was drastic

and far-reaching as it meant the transformation of 3,200 handicraft societies of all kinds, some of them quite independent and unaffiliated, into 750 regional artisan guilds. Furthermore, it meant the conversion of 390 provincial and district handicraft societies or groups and 90 national organisations created for the purpose of looking after the specific interests of the various handicraft professions, into 51 Reich Guild Societies and five vocational groups directly affiliated to the Reich Federation (Reich Estate) of German Handicrafts. It is worth noting that what took place was a process of simplification. Management and control passed into the hands of 59 chambers of handicraft. The German handicraft industry was reorganised for protection and achievement and the money spent on the running of this organisation has been reduced from 60 million marks, in pre-Hitler years, to 40 million marks.

Another big step forward was the introduction of a master-craftsman testing and examination system on the basic principle that no one should be allowed to practice any handicraft as a means of livelihood unless in possession of a proficiency diploma. The necessity of this measure becomes obvious enough when it is pointed out that formerly only 40 per cent of those engaged in handicrafts took the trouble to take out a diploma of merit. Higher standards of proficiency in all handicraft occupations has been the direct outcome of this innovation. It has also meant a great extension of the State-controlled arts and crafts schools. Each guild and handicraft chamber has had to intensify its instructional activities to cope with the necessity of allowing each would-be plumber, carpenter, tailor and so forth to obtain his "master's certificate" without which there is no admittance to the ranks of the craft or profession.

The Labour Front is doing much in the same way to help out here, whilst, of course, many candidates for the coveted certificate, particularly in the home industries, are induced to apply themselves to the task of learning their trade with greater interest and diligence.

It is a sign of the new labour ethics that the chambers of handicraft have set up their own social honour courts. The standard of achievement has risen considerably, due in part to the increased amount of publicity given to the handicrafts at exhibitions and fairs, and, in part, to the insistence on sane values in art and life. Mention should be made here of the impressive House of German Handicrafts which has been erected in Berlin, and whose lattice-work of wrought iron and whose stone statues of artisans, powerful in conception and execution, have evoked unqualified admiration. As the headquarters of the German handicraft industry, it contains an exhibition of craft achievement. The entire furniture and equipment bears testimony to the value and beauty of things created by the human hand. Some of its rooms are used for housing a permanent display of the latest achievements of the various craft professions designed to make them known to the general public. A permanent display of samples of export articles is designed to assist both exporter and foreign buyer in making their selection of hand-made articles.

The story of the activities of the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts contains many interesting features. These include:—

(1) The founding of the German Handicraft Institute Its object is to help by the adoption of scientific methods to bring about an improvement in the quality of craft products and to achieve greater efficiency in the management and conduct of handicraft undertakings, whilst 29 trade promotion centres have been set up and are already competing with each other in translating these ideas into practice

(2) The cooperation of the Reich Federation with the Chamber of Graphic and Plastic Arts and other institutions offers a guarantee for a higher standard of artistic achievement especially with regard to the creation of new fashions in dress and interior decoration, in the planning of settlements, etc.

(3) A large number of experienced architects are enlisted to give their advice in matters which have to do with the granting of contracts for the erection of new buildings This is done to ensure as far as humanly possible that every big new building project is carried out in a sane and proper manner The "Treubau Gesellschaft" which has been founded by the German Handicraft Industry, finances building projects, in particular, the erection of one-family homes, and supervises the financial and architectural execution of such schemes Sixteen societies for the promotion of building activity have been formed and are now engaged in finding for the German handicraft industry the requisite capital to enable it to launch out in the execution of building schemes of all kinds, including big projects

Apart from these special measures, the revival of the German handicraft industry has been the direct outcome of the German industrial renascence which has had the natural effect of augmenting the purchasing power of the nation as a whole The decline of the number of unemployed craftsmen and their assistants is phenomenal In the metal-working industry, for instance, there has been an estimated 70 per cent decline in the number out of work and 76 per cent in the clothing industry The aggregate turnover amounted to some 15,000,000,000 reichsmarks, which is over 50 per cent in excess of the 1933 figure By 1937, the total had further risen to about 18,000,000,000 reichsmarks.

Industry

The principal tasks of the Federation of German Industries which, following the reorganisation, is the largest and most important German industrial organisation, are as follows: To arrange for its members courses of instruction in technical subjects, to expound and advocate the adoption of new technical processes, to advocate the employment of new working materials and to exhort members to prevent the wastage of raw materials Also, to instruct its members in the economics of their particular branch of the trade (market research and sales analysis), to exhort its members to raise the standard of output by the adoption of efficient methods of business (enlightened office management, eugenic labour conditions, scientific bookkeeping and accounting), and to offer advice in questions relating to trusts as well as to obtain an insight into the working of trusts and to take an active part in their development and control

Additional tasks of equal importance: to act in an advisory capacity in propounding questions of taxation as applied to the individual trades; to deal with questions of freights and transport costs; to deal with commercial and currency questions; to handle questions relating to national defence and air raid precautions; to report on matters affecting the welfare of the particular branch of the trade; to advise in all problems of a business and social character directly affecting the branch; to collaborate in the training of the rising generation; to cooperate in the holding of fairs and exhibitions.

Every employer of labour must be a member of the Federation of German Industries by virtue of the fact that, under the circumstances, it would be unjust and inequitable to allow the individual to reap what the many have sown. Acceptance of the National Socialist outlook is taken as implying a pledge to work in fellowship for the attainment of the maximum of efficiency and achievement in the service of the State and the nation.

The Federation of German Industries is composed of 29 industrial groups which are organised under seven main group leaders into 225 branch groups. It is an imposing structure which provides possibilities here and there for simplification and absorption. Comparing, however, the new organisation whose structure can be taken in at a glance, with the unwieldy and loose jumble of industrial associations that formed the Reich Federation of German Industry of yesterday, it will be seen that the latter was made up of no less than 1,185 associations, whilst the Association of German Industry had almost as many. Incidentally, German industry is, next to that of the United States of America, the most specialised industry in the world so that its organisation has, of necessity, to reflect tremendous varieties of functions and activities.

A concentration of organisational energies on this scale is very important from the viewpoint of national economy. It becomes absolutely imperative when the State is pledged to the attainment of a great goal such as the Second Four Years Plan. It is a question then not of establishing a network of officialdom or an industrial bureaucracy, but rather of getting each branch of industry organised, either on a branch or regional basis. This will enable it to solve the big problems which have been set by the State in the interest of the community as a whole.

The Second Four Years Plan makes big calls upon the output of German industry because it sets out to realise a big-scale production of raw materials within Germany in order to make the country independent of the outside world in the matter of raw materials. The new organisation warrants the hope that the industry will be able to make full use of the latest discoveries of chemical science.

The market situation obtaining at the time of the first Four Years Plan confronted industry with tasks which placed demands of a special kind on the technical and business capacities of the various concerns and undertakings. The character of the market situation was largely determined by State requirements and accounted for the extraordinary rapid growth of the share-issuing industry. The restoration of the war industry in the Third Reich in pursuance of the plan

for national rearmament likewise affected the market situation The industrial renascence assumed a vigorous and sudden character Many firms found that they were called upon to double and treble their output This gave rise to a special demand for high quality articles and an increased demand for skilled and experienced workers There were many other factors which have to be taken into consideration

Demands of a different character began to be made on German industry by virtue of its special position in relation to world trade Owing to the fact that Germany's holdings of foreign exchange did not permit of a growth of its foreign trade in conformity with the increased need for raw materials, German industry was confronted with the necessity of setting up a greater control over its own raw material resources The successes achieved in this domain are more than satisfactory Germany is now in a position to produce fifty per cent of its requirements of petrol The manufacture of staple fibre (*Zellwolle*) makes it possible to produce by chemical means a very considerable percentage of the entire requirements of textile fibre The position is similar with regard to other German new raw materials, such as artificial resin and *Buna* The experience gathered during recent army tests and automobile races with synthetical rubber, for instance, have proved that the *Buna* products are more durable than the corresponding products of natural rubber This feature will go far to counterbalance the higher cost of producing the synthetic article (See Picts 133 to 138)

Statistics reveal that during the period of the first Four Years Plan the number of workers employed in industry increased approximately by 2 9 million, actually from 3 7 million to 6 6 million This does not include an additional influx into industry of 861,000 so called black coated workers The average working day has expanded from 6 97 hours to 7 62 hours The value of the industrial yield has grown from slightly more than 600 million marks to upwards of 1 2 milliard marks The industrial payroll has with a rise from 400 million marks to 865 mil lion marks been more than doubled [1]

[1] A few data relating to the artificial production of benzole or rubber by the I G Dye Trust (I G Farbenindustrie) will no doubt be of interest to the reader

The high pressure hydrogenation process developed at their Oppau works and carried through on a large technical scale at Leuna proceeds from the fact that in the coal there will already be found the identical component parts as they are already contained in mineral and benzole If benzole is decomposed by chemical analysis in its basic substances in its elements it will be found that it consists of about 85% (weight) of carbon and about 15% (weight) of hydrogen If the starting materials which can be made to day to serve for the production of benzole such as petroleum tar oil lignite pit coal are subjected to the elementary analysis it will be found that also these substances chiefly consist of carbon and hydrogen containing however relatively to the benzole less hydrogen, furthermore, other starting materials such as oxygen nitrogen and sulphur which should not be contained in benzole It is therefore essential to enhance the contents of hydrogen of the starting materials by the accumulation of hydrogen whilst every other element except carbon and hydrogen should be eliminated Considering that the molecules of benzole are smaller than those of the starting materials these must be rendered smaller still i e the molecule must be split

This splitting of the molecule and the conversion of the greatest part of the compounds

contained in the coal, in liquid hydrocarbon, will prove successful in the presence of hydrogen under high pressure An acceleration and control were effected by the employment of appropriate catalysers reaction negotiators, the basic substances of which consist of metals and non-metals, which themselves remain unchanged and yet must bring about the described required effect

The development of the hydrogenating process commenced in the middle of the year 1924 in Ludwigshafen/Oppau, at the same place whence the nitrogen—synthesis was started In July 1926 it was decided to erect a large experimental plant, which was designed, in the first instance, for the production of about 100,000 tons of benzole per annum Already in November of the same year building operations could be commenced with and it was on the 1st of April 1927 that the first unit could be started Amongst the public one frequently, nay, one might say, even continuously comes across the question with regard to the rentability of the production of synthetic benzole and mineral oil from coal, as to whether, on the one hand, Germany's coal deposits would prove sufficient for the yield which would now have to be anticipated and whether, on the other hand, the new essence could be produced at a selling price which would not mean a limitation of Germany's striving motor car industry Both questions shall be replied to by means of statistics through experts, the validity of which is proved through years of work as, e g at the Leuna works Thus, for the production of a ton of benzole about 22 tons of lignite or 4 5 tons of pit coal would be required Relatively thereto, the proved deposits of lignite amount to 50 milliard tons, whilst those of pit coal amount to more than 100 milliard tons The yearly figures of production amount to 137 and 140 tons respectively The quantities of coal required for the production of the entire German mineral-oil requirement, amounting so far to about 4 million tons, can thus be said to be comparatively small

The question of price is just as obviously settled by the fact, that the cost of production of the carbon benzole at the present level of prices of mineral oils is not required to undergo any change

The development in the province of essences has roused the greatest possible interest There can be no doubt of whatever description, that in this case German work and inventive spirit have rendered a tremendous service, not only to Germany, but also to the entire world

The same applies to the synthetic rubber Buna

Germany does not possess any caoutchouc plantations and yet she produces caoutchouc from lime and carbon, an artificial caoutchouc, which even surpasses the favourable properties of natural caoutchouc

It was in the year 1936 that for the first time the I G Farbenindustrie acquainted the public on the broadest possible basis on the occasion of the International Automobile and Motor Cycle Exhibition, with the new product Buna The exhibited samples, the series of movable, the schematic representations, the picture of a "Buna" factory, all these items greatly attracted the attention of the visitors from all countries At the end of the year 1936 the first actual and reliable manufacturing phase was completed Since these events, the progress, recorded by the Buna synthesis and carried through by means of operations, have become even more obvious

At the World's Exhibition in Paris, Buna was awarded the Grand Prix and thus characterised as a success of German science and technics throughout the world

Apart from its employment in the form of tyres, the elastic material, soft rubber, is used to an ever increasing extent as constructional element in motor car construction Very frequently these elements come in contact with fuel and lubricating oil The use of soft rubber, made from natural caoutchouc, has so far proved to be impossible, because this part was rapidly destroyed by benzole and oil The special Buna—brand "Perbunan" has now proved successful in obviating this defect of the natural caoutchouc From this material highly elastic, swell proof rubber goods can be made At other points of the motor vehicle importance is attached to particularly high heat resistibility and maintenance constancy In this case also the products, made from Buna, have proved highly superior to those made from natural caoutchouc

From the native energy and raw material sources, viz coal and lime, the chemist and technician are producing a material which, according to the purposes for which it is intended, is particularly benzole- and oil proof, wear and pressure resisting, heat resisting and ageing proof,

for national rearmament likewise affected the market situation The industrial renascence assumed a vigorous and sudden character Many firms found that they were called upon to double and treble their output This gave rise to a special demand for high quality articles and an increased demand for skilled and experienced workers There were many other factors which have to be taken into consideration

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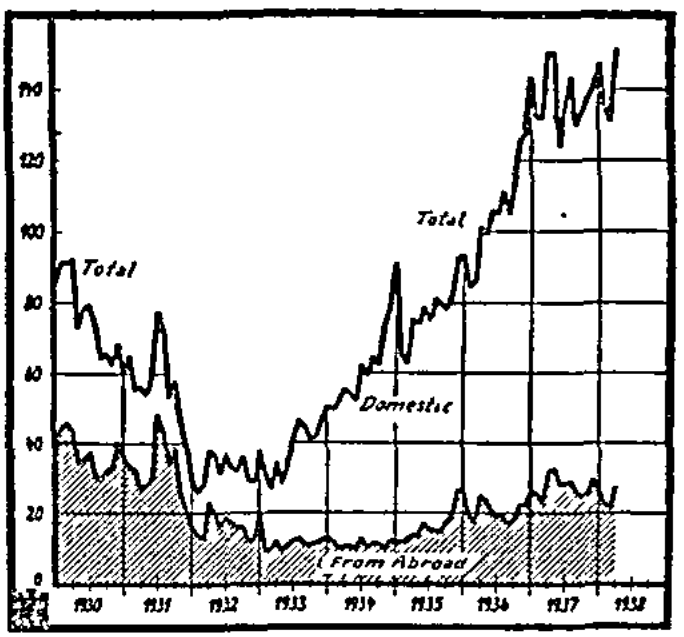
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Th is spl tting of the molecule and the conversion of the greatest part of the compounds

nation as a whole. Hence though bent on encouraging private initiative, the State indicates the paths to be taken. In the past, when the commercial world in Germany was under no direct obligation to promote national before private interests, the market was governed solely by the principle of supply and demand. Prices fluctuated with the varying state of the market. It was the age when each thought to further his own interests without regard for the imperative need to promote the national welfare. Success was seen in the achievement of high dividends for invested capital, mostly attained by keeping prices at a high level to the detriment of the consuming public. Today, the State seeks to find a proper balance between private and national interests by exercising a control which works out in practice to the advantage of both private and national interests.

This will suffice to explain the purpose of a series of special laws and regulations which have been put in force by the German Minister of Trade. It will also explain the activities of the Commissioner for Price Control, whose powers in this respect are of an extremely far-reaching nature.

As a direct outcome of this legislation, German trade has been on the upgrade since the middle of 1933. Each branch of trade has benefited, though in a varying degree, by this re-organisation.



Orders booked by the German Machinery Industry
(1928 = 100)

Official Reich statistics are unable to give a true picture of the number of firms and people connected with commerce. This is partly due to the fact that the census on which Reich statistics are based, was taken in 1933. Since that time some 6,000,000 unemployed have been put back in work, and 5 classes of young people have entered upon their various callings, of whom a large portion was available to the various branches of trade. Beyond this, the census could not reflect the organic reconstruction of German economy which took place at a later date. If we analyse the 1933 census according to present-day classification of trade and industry, the resultant figure is approximately 3.8 million commercial employees, to which must be added some 5.5 million in the Reich Branch for Industry and some 4 million in the Reich Branch for Handicrafts.

Furthermore, with regard to the number of business firms there is a considerable discrepancy between the figures resulting from the census and the number of members in the various sections of the Reich Group for Trade which

can be traced to the same causes Today in the obligatory organisation of German commerce, more than 1 2 million employers and firms belonging to the Reich Branch with its 5 subdivisions and 8 independent sections stand united by the common aim of their calling and in a spirit striving for the public good

All trade groups, as already indicated, have witnessed an increase in turnover since 1933 This development is particularly noticeable in the retail trade, where the turnover went from 21 8 milliard marks in 1933 to some 31 milliard marks in 1937, similarly in the hotel and restaurant trade where the rise was from 3 8 milliard marks in the slump of 1932 to 5 2 milliard marks in 1937 This means an increased turnover of more than 45% in the German retail trade, and 36% for the hotel and restaurant trade since the lowest level of their economic activity during the depression

The turnover of the German wholesale trade cannot be compiled with like exactness Estimates for the year 1933, deducting imports and exports, give it at some 23 to 24 milliard marks Since then, presumably, as far as sales to retailers are concerned, it has experienced a corresponding extension However those branches of the wholesale trade which supply industry and the handi crafts must have experienced a substantially greater increase in turnover as the greater activity in these branches was far more marked than in the retail trade All things considered, it can be assumed that the increase in turnover for the inland wholesale trade in all its aspects amounts to 60% between 1933 and 1937, that is about a third more than the increase in the retail trade turnover Thus careful estimates give the increase for Germany's wholesale trade during 1937 at an amount of 40 milliard marks

In adding the turnover for individual branches of trade together, the total business turnover for the wholesale, retail and itinerant trade sections, and hotels and restaurants, is calculated at 76 milliard marks This figure is none too high, for it does not cover exports and imports, the activities of agents and middlemen, or of the 8 independent sections of the Reich Branch for Commerce Accordingly, the turnover of German business for 1937 can be taken at 80 milliard marks an achievement which can readily be seen alongside the other branches of German economy

Big calls within economic possibilities have been made in recent years on commerce But the response, difficult though this may have been for many after the ruinous slump, was made willingly and with understanding After all it is not as people detached from existing problems might be tempted to believe, as though the increased turnovers meant a corresponding improvement in net returns With due respect to higher interests of the community as a whole, the trade surrendered a large part of its margin of profits, even more, it contributed its share—one might almost say double share—by lowering the prices for numerous brands of goods Not only by foregoing some of the gross profits in order to reduce prices, the trade has as well sustained a reduction in net profits through the lowering of producer prices

In many cases the increase in turnover would probably not have sufficed

to offset the loss in rebates caused by the lowering of prices. But the Trade could be expected to make such sacrifice because its capacity was known to have improved materially under the expert guidance of the Reich Branch and its subdivisions, thereby meeting its national obligations to the community in respect to greater rationalisation. In this connection, mention should be made of the work done in making a proper system of bookkeeping compulsory in all and every enterprise, the organisation of trustees in connection with the professional organisation of commercial trustees and, finally, the introduction of comparative operations. All these efforts led to increased all-round efficiency which the economic whole requires more than ever before in the existing mobilisation of all forces; for extensive economic planning which governs German national economy is by no means exhausted in the systematic guidance and adjustment of production, but culminates, as it should, in a rational consumption of goods.

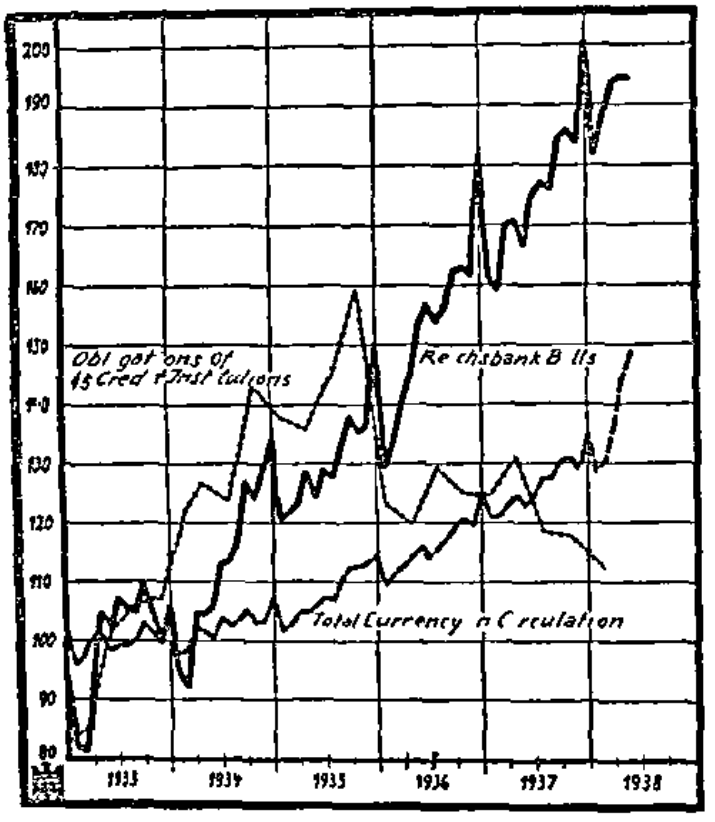
Invested Capital

A further point of Adolf Hitler's programmatic declaration, already referred to, is the recognition of the rights of private property. The National Socialist State is pledged to a financial policy which foresees a certain measure of control over capital investments.

These basic principles are designed to promote the growth of capital in Germany, as it stands to reason that the capitalist entrepreneur will never be induced to invest his capital in any Socialist project of his own free will unless "corporate society," or the State, is able to offer him material security and some prospect of private gain. The adherence to these principles fulfils one of the prerequisite conditions for the welfare of the State itself, namely, the need for the creation of capital, without which it would soon be found impossible to proceed with the monster projects of national integration and national defence. A sure sign of the success already achieved with this financial outlook is that Germany has been able to exercise a control over the circulation of money in a way necessary for the fulfilment of its national plans of reconstruction.

Capital savings were down to a low level in the year 1933. The revenue from taxation likewise reflected these depressed trade conditions. The disparity between the amount of available capital and the ability of the market to absorb it was so marked as to make necessary recourse to measures in order to restore the confidence of the investing public.

Money for the big new schemes had to be found, but it was deemed advisable to refrain from enlisting the services of private capital as this would have had the effect of eliminating private enterprise instead of giving it the desired new impetus. Hence the State saw itself obliged to strike out in an entirely new direction which would neither interrupt the normal development of things nor jeopardise either the position of the German mark or the national budget. As already explained, the State elected to adopt the course of obtaining big credits with a view to combating unemployment, stimulating home markets and closing up the gaps in the investment market. Hence the financial policy of the



Money in Circulation and Bills of the Reichsbank
(1st Quarter 1933 = 100)

new Germany in respect of the entire money, credit, share market and public savings system, occupied a special position in the legislative measures for economic guidance

The Import Law of December 5th, 1934, relating to "Credit System" betokened a real banking and credit reform and created the preliminary condition for a planned and unified credit policy with special provisions for the control of the saving deposit side of banking and the protection of national thrift

The cardinal feature of this law is that it coordinates all banking and credit functions, provides for the economical employment of all available and accumulated investments (i e, avoidance of unsound ventures and reduction of overhead costs, both necessary measures in order to lower the rate of interest), proper assignment of fields of activity to each department of banking, avoidance of irregular and unfair competition, safeguarding of small and medium sized creditors, fairer regional distribution of credits, sharp control of speculation, freer circulation of money in the interest of savers and investors alike, greater insistence on the publication of balance sheets

Credit institutions are placed under the direction of a Supervisory Bureau and a Bank Commissioner appointed by this Bureau The principle of free trade applied to banking has been abandoned The granting of loans, the relationship between private capital and total obligations, liquidity, accounting, the creation of bill broker money and, in fact, the entire conduct of business are placed under constant centralised supervision Sharp differentiation between saving deposits and current accounts, and the provisions respecting liquidation such as the one which states that fixed interest bearing shares traded by the Reichsbank must be included in the reserve of liquid funds, have served to bridge the gap which formerly existed between the money and capital markets and preserves the vitality of the share market

The Law relating to "Loan Stock" falls within the framework of the reorganisation of the German credit system It enacts that share companies which are able to raise their dividends as a result of the stimulation of the home market by State enterprise shall not be allowed to pay out their profits according as they deem fit, but have to pay into the German Discount Bank a sub

stantial amount, namely, all profits exceeding 6%, or, in some cases, 8%, as a contribution towards a special fund which may be used by the State for stimulating production This loan stock, thus placed by a share company at the disposal of the Discount Bank, is administered for the company in the form of a trusteeship and, without encroachment upon its rights of property, is divided up among the shareholders at the end of a period of four years The German government has had recourse to this measure in order to utilise in an effective manner a portion of the new and surplus capital of share companies brought into being primarily as a result of State enterprise in home market stimulation, or for reinforcing the capital market with a view to achieving an organic reduction of the rate of interest

Furthermore, the year 1934 saw a reorganisation of the German stock exchange system, whereby the number of sharemarkets was reduced from twenty-one to nine, thus enabling a more effective coordination of the country's formerly very scattered financial resources

Proof of the restored confidence of the German public is provided by the fact that savings bank deposits in Germany have risen to 16 milliard marks Half of the 1935 State loan of one milliard marks was raised in the open market by the German banks whilst the other half was directly subscribed by the German Savings Banks

It needs to be emphasised that the total amount of money invested by the German Savings Banks in State loans does not exceed $1^1/_2$ milliard marks On the other hand, the Savings Banks in France and Italy for example, hold far heavier State loans Five milliard marks worth of English Government bonds are held by the London "Big Five" banks alone The invested capital of the eight German big banks amounts to about seven milliard marks

In order not to run the risk of tiring the reader with technical details, I shall pass over the measures adopted in Germany for bringing about a reduction in the rate of interest demanded by credit institutes, for reorganising the State controlled banks, the savings deposits banks, for effecting the dissolution of undertakings which set out to make a profit for themselves by appealing to the thrift instinct of the general public, and so forth These measures constitute an important step forward towards the attainment of sounder conditions on the share market and towards the restoration of a healthy business outlook Later I shall have to make some reference, however, to legislation relating to the control of foreign currency holdings Germany's shortage of gold and foreign exchange holdings has necessitated the adoption of a series of legislative measures in this sphere, mainly with a view to the exigencies of German foreign trade

Much has already been achieved but it is little more than the first stage of a general advance Certain it is that the new German credit system, as built up within the framework of the Four Years Plan, has made considerable headway The assets of the credit institutes have been purged of the dross of a past era Foreign indebtedness has been replaced to a great extent by means of German

investments It has been made apparent that banking will continue to be indispensable for the functioning of the capital market. Above all, clarity has been created with regard to the relationship existing between the State and the credit system Finally, the conciliating activity of the Reich Commissioner and the Federation of German Banking has done away with the conflicts which formerly prevailed between the various parts of the credit system.

Foreign Trade

Germany has always been one of the leading exporting countries of the world, particularly as regards the export of finished articles Germany's foreign trade in commodities of all descriptions, from machines and ships to chemical products, from electrical machinery and radio sets to delicate scientific instruments, from films to toys, and so forth, has established Germany's renown in all the markets of the world.

Germany's Foreign Trade (excluding gold and silver)
(in millions of marks)

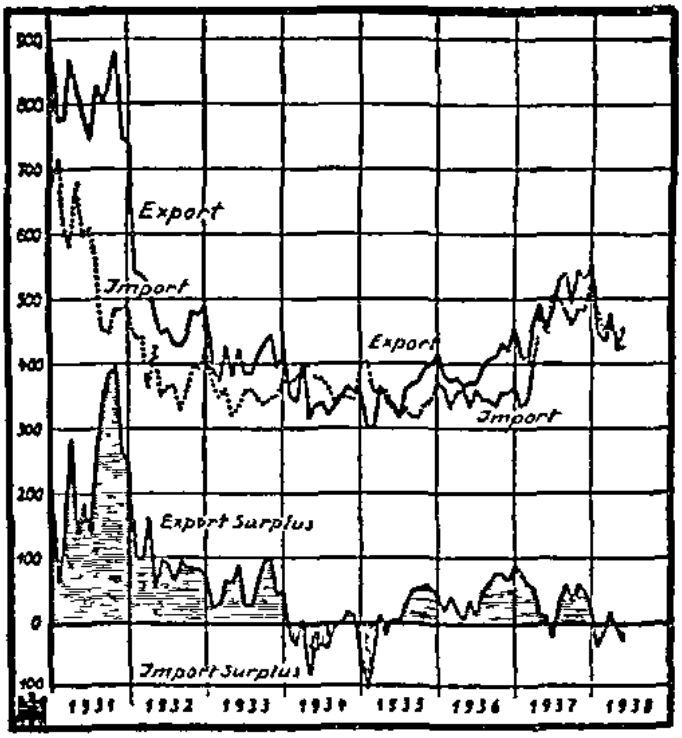
Year	Imports				Exports				Import surplus — Export surplus +
	Total	Food-stuffs	Raw materials	Finished Articles	Total	Food-stuffs	Raw materials	Finished Articles	
1928	14 001	4,333	7,218	2,450	12,276	642	2,750	8,884	— 1,725
1929	13,447	3,973	7,205	2,269	13,483	724	2 926	9 833	+ 36
1930	10,393	3 087	5,508	1,798	12 036	548	2,450	9,038	+ 1,643
1931	6,727	2,024	3 478	1,225	9,599	406	1,813	7,380	+ 2,872
1932	4 667	1,528	2,412	727	5,739	218	1,032	4,489	+ 1,072
1933	4,204	1,113	2,421	670	4,871	181	903	3,787	+ 667
1934	4 451	1,100	2 600	751	4 167	121	790	3,256	— 284
1935	4 159	996	2 553	564	4 270	75	774	3,418	+ 111
1936	4 218	1,499	2 322	397	4,768	88	878	3,802	+ 550
1937	5,468	2,045	2,977	397	5,911	88	1,121	4,700	+ 443

The world crisis, the enormous reparation payments and the various obstacles which stood in the way of German export trade, have been responsible for the fact that Germany's foreign trade declined to one third of its former value A glance at the accompanying table and the graph will suffice to reveal the extent of this decline since the outset of the world trade depression

These figures also show that whereas the value of Germany's exports before the advent of the world trade depression rose to 12,276 million marks in the year 1928 and to 9,833 million marks in the year 1929, it had sunk at the accession of National Socialism to power to 4,871 million marks. The following year it reached its lowest level, amounting to only 4,167 million marks. The export surplus of 1,643 million marks of the year 1930 and of 2,872 million marks in 1931 had dropped to 667 million marks in 1933 and was converted into an adverse balance of 284 million marks in the year 1934.

It is poor comfort to be told that the foreign trade of other industrial countries underwent a parallel development, seeing that Germany as a pronounced industrial country is greatly handicapped by reason of its foreign indebtedness, shortage of gold and foreign exchange holdings and lack of raw material needed for its highly-specialised industry.

The origin of these handicaps is patent to all: the Versailles Treaty. By virtue of this so-called Peace Treaty, Germany was deprived not only of practically all its capital investments abroad to the extent of about 25 milliard marks, from the proceeds of which it had been in the habit of paying its import surplus, but was placed under compulsion to pay reparations in the form of huge sums of money in foreign currency.



German Foreign Trade (in Million Reichsmarks)

After experience had shown the sheer impossibility of transferring these reparations in the shape of commodities, Germany was presented with a method of paying reparations in the form of the Dawes Plan and, later on, in the form of the Young Plan. Germany began to jeopardise its whole future by raising loans abroad to the total of 27 milliard marks. Most of this huge sum was found by foreign banks and foreign investors. The proceeds in foreign currency were for the most part used for the payment of reparations.

As Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, declared in the course of a speech delivered on August 30th, 1934, at the International Agricultural Conference in Bad Eilsen, these industrial undertakings benefited from the exchange value of the reichsmark, and the Reichsbank was even able to increase its holdings of foreign exchange. But the German government had to have recourse to taxation measures and other devices in order to raise the requisite sum in Reichsmarks to cover the reparation payments, which meant, of course, that in every instance, this sum had to be found by the nation and then used to purchase back from the Reichsbank the corresponding amounts of foreign exchange for transference to the reparation powers.

The so-called Layton Report of the International Conference held at Basle in the year 1931 furnished figures which proved beyond dispute that Germany was quite incapable of making reparation payments out of the annual foreign trade surplus achieved in the years subsequent to the coming into operation of the Dawes Plan. Actually, therefore, the sum of 10.3 milliard marks paid in

investments It has been made apparent that banking will continue to be indispensable for the functioning of the capital market. Above all, clarity has been created with regard to the relationship existing between the State and the credit system Finally, the conciliating activity of the Reich Commissioner and the Federation of German Banking has done away with the conflicts which formerly prevailed between the various parts of the credit system

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policy and the mistaken idea of forcing foreign loans upon Germany, amounted at the end of 1930 to upwards of 25 milliard marks, of which huge sum approximately 15 milliard marks were in the form of short term borrowings Today this indebtedness amounts to 11 milliard marks, that is to say, a sum less than the combined amount of the total reparations paid since the Dawes Plan came into operation and the interest payments on loans In spite of the enormous obstacles foreign countries have placed in the way of German export trade, Germany has succeeded not only in keeping up the payments of the interest services amounting to several hundred million marks annually, but over and above this has paid back more than eight milliard marks of the total of approximately twenty milliard marks which was the extent of German indebtedness at the time of the accession to power of National Socialism It deserves to be noted, however, that the devaluation of foreign currencies has had the effect of wiping off about four milliard marks of Germany's foreign debts

Germany has not withdrawn its signature appended to these debts Dr Schacht, the Reichsbank President, has declared on repeated occasions that Germany will undertake, as far as lies within its power, to meet existing creditor claims In other words, in so far as the Reichsbank is able to draw upon its stock of foreign exchange to meet these claims "We have no intention of ignoring the fact," he said, in a speech delivered at Konigsberg on August 18th, 1935, "that our foreign creditors are not governments but thousands of individual citizens of foreign countries who have lent us their savings"

It is therefore not surprising that the Reichsbank's gold and foreign exchange holdings have dwindled to a small sum

These holdings amounted at the end of 1931, when the bank crisis had reduced them by more than 3 milliard marks, to 1 156 million marks The following year brought about a further reduction to 920 million marks At the end of 1933 they stood as low as 395 million marks despite the fact that the passing of the "Law against the betrayal of German National Economy" had resulted in an additional contribution of foreign exchange, to the assets of Reichsbank in that year, of 100 million marks

The Work Creation Policy of the National Socialist government necessitated an increased importation of raw materials This made itself especially felt in respect of the foreign exchange holdings in that the prices for raw materials on the world market underwent a marked upward trend in the winter of 1933/34 This augmented import of raw materials, along with the growing obstacles in the way of German export trade, furnishes the main explanation for the fact that Germany's trade balance, which showed an export surplus of 667 million marks in the year 1933, ended the year 1934 with a deficit of 284 million marks A deficit of this sort, the scrips (promissory notes of the Exchange Fund for German Foreign Indebtedness), and sundry other capital obligations, caused the gold and foreign exchange holdings of the Reichsbank to sink still lower At the end of March 1934 they amounted to only 245 million marks and were only 77 million marks at the end of June

When, in the early part of March 1934, it became possible to view the general situation in its proper perspective, the Reichsbank lost no time in adopting the requisite measures The foreign exchange quota granted to traders for the payment of imports, which had remained the same throughout the entire period from May 1932 to February 1934 by virtue of an enactment according to which traders were allowed to pay in foreign currency to the maximum of 50% of the average amount of the value of the foreign goods imported by them during the years 1930 and 1931, was reduced to 45% in March 1934, to 35% in April, to 25% in May, to 10% in June, and to 5% in July In addition, the Law of March 21, 1934, relating to trade in foreign raw materials and semi manufactured goods placed a provisional embargo on the purchase of certain important raw materials, whilst a number of other raw materials were subjected to control in order to prevent unnecessary wastage of these raw materials

These measures, however, did not achieve the desired effect, partly because traders had already concluded deals for the purchase of foreign goods still to be delivered, and partly because the special accounts deposited with the Reichsbank on behalf of foreign Issuing Banks in accordance with the so called Sweden clause of the Settlement's Agreement made these measures more or less illusory Consequently, in the latter half of June, the Reichsbank was obliged to have recourse to a new expediency the equalisation of foreign exchange holdings, that is to say, it made the sum paid out daily in foreign exchange conform to the amount of foreign exchange paid into the bank on the same day The individual demand for foreign exchange was met according to the degree of urgency and the amount received during the course of the day

The adoption of this system enabled the Reichsbank to check the outflow of its gold and foreign exchange holdings the volume of which had contracted to 75 million marks But as this arrangement restricted the payment of imported goods and not the effective import, it resulted in a steady growth in the amount of the outstanding foreign indebtedness in respect of goods purchased by German traders Consequently, it threatened to disrupt the credit of German exporters Another consequence was that the practice of paying for imported goods at three months' sight was being more and more replaced by direct cash payments

In the course of the month of July 1934, the difficulties arising out of the operation of this exchange equalisation were still further augmented A final regulation of the entire import trade in accordance with a uniform plan was therefore inevitable

Dr Schacht, Reichsbank President, who was placed in charge of the Ministry of Economics in the latter part of July, announced in the course of a speech delivered to newspaper correspondents on August 26th, 1934, on the occasion of the opening of the Leipzig Autumn Fair, the inauguration of what he termed the "New Plan," consisting of a series of laws and decrees for the control and direction of German foreign trade This system has proved successful and is still in force

"It is and will remain the supreme principle underlying every business out

look," declared Dr. Schacht, "to enter upon no obligations that cannot be fulfilled with certainty. Business practice has been held too long under the scourge of politics. I am resolved to put an end to this state of affairs and hope to be able to count on the understanding and support of business circles throughout the world. Only one straight road remains open to us, namely, to bring our imports in conformity with our capacity to pay."

The New Plan drawn up in September 1934 was thus devised to reaffirm the principle accepted by every honest business man, that one should buy only what one is able to pay for, whilst, at the same time, it was designed to ensure that Germany should concentrate on buying those goods needed in Germany. Payment is not necessarily tied down to a money settlement, but can take the form of an exchange in kind as in the case of compensation transactions. At any rate, the new Schacht Plan has been designed to prevent the purchase and importation into Germany of goods for which it is impossible to make payment or to effect an equivalent exchange of goods.

In order to have a permanent control over the effective operation of the plan and to study the development of Germany's commercial relations with foreign countries as well as to ensure the organising of a planned distribution over home markets of imported commodities, there were set up twenty-seven control offices for dealing with all products connected with imports. This meant that the entire import trade was subjected to a thoroughgoing supervision such as might enable Germany to cover its purchases abroad primarily by arrangement with its chief customers, namely, the purchasers of German manufactured goods.

Herr Karl Blessing, of the German Ministry of Economics, and a director of the Reichsbank, has expounded the plan in the following terms:—

"It sets out in the first place to bring our import trade in accord with the existing possibilities of payment, whilst its ultimate aim is to order and develop our trade balance in such a way as to enable us to satisfy our vital import requirements and meet all our obligations. The more our creditor countries support us in this respect, the easier it will be for us to pay off our debts."

Certain it is that this system can be described as a measure that often imposes great restrictions upon the freedom of individual firms. Dr. Schacht himself held that this plan was something "abominable" because it is a reversion to the most primitive of all trading methods: glass beads are exchanged for ivory as was the fashion in Central Africa a century ago. But there was no other course for Germany to adopt.

To be sure, the aim of German commercial policy of purchasing abroad only those goods which are of vital necessity to the nation cannot be achieved to its fullest extent. This is made impossible by the very nature of foreign trade. The foreign dealers are often compelled to sell, apart from those goods which are important for Germany, also those which Germany has more or less no express desire to import. Brazil, for instance, sells its cotton only to countries which are prepared to take its coffee. Chile sells copper only to those taking its fertilisers. But in spite of these obstacles, it has been found possible to a large extent to adapt the structure of the German import trade to the vital needs

of German industry Moreover, the adverse balance shown by German foreign trade in the year 1934 has been converted into a favourable balance of 111 million marks in the year 1935, 550 million marks in the year 1936, and 443 million marks in 1937

The new plan can be regarded as a success of Dr Schacht's economic policy This success can be summed up in the following four main points —

(1) Financing of the gigantic programme of work creation and rearmament without having recourse to foreign help and without causing any disturbance of the money market or the currency position

(2) Repayment of eight milliard marks of foreign indebtedness It has actually been found possible on each occasion during the last few years to arrive at an understanding with the foreign creditor countries The maintenance of the gold parity of the German currency has likewise contributed its part towards enabling Germany to derive the full benefit, in the payment of its debts, of the depreciation of the other currencies

(3) The new plan has made it possible for Germany to increase its annual purchases of raw materials (raw and semi raw materials) from about 26 million tons to 42 million tons and to reduce the import of manufactured articles to a minimum This provided the possibility for Germany to enter into competition with other countries in those markets where the latter seemed to enjoy a big advantage by virtue of a depreciated currency

(4) Maintenance of a stable currency

This last point deserves to be more fully elucidated as it has been by no means easy for Germany to maintain the mark rate in the face of the devaluations which have occurred in the case of the currencies of a number of big and smaller nations, and in the face of the fact that certain German industrial circles have advocated devaluation for the sake of giving an impetus to Germany's foreign trade

Dr Schacht has never hinted at any possibility of realising a demand of this sort Addressing a gathering of German banking officials on February 22nd 1934, he said —

"Gentlemen, you know how much I favour plain speaking Let me therefore take this opportunity to tell you quite calmly that I am well aware of how certain export circles are claiming that it is impossible to maintain German export trade at its present level without having recourse to a devaluation of the mark I am so convinced of the necessity of not only maintaining but increasing the German export in the interest of work creation that I allow no occasion to slip by without drawing attention to the fact that one ought not to neglect our exports when engaged in strengthening the domestic market Hence I cannot do anything in the direction of bringing about a devaluation of the German mark My reasons for this are as follows Firstly, German export trade is based to a large extent on the manufacture of articles from raw materials for which Germany would have to pay more if the mark fell in value Here lies the fundamental difference in a comparison with England which produces its raw materials almost entirely within its own Empire (Also in a comparison with the United States of America which virtually enjoys self sufficiency in respect of raw materials Author's Note)

"Secondly, the tremendous national sacrifice incurred by a depreciation of the mark would work out to the benefit of the few and would not in any case remove the obstacles to world trade nor serve to revive world trade, already greatly diminished in volume, because Britain and America have not definitely stabilised their currencies and hence could easily reply with a further devaluation. Thirdly, there are ways and means open to us of countering the currency devaluation policy of other countries without having recourse to a depreciation of the mark. The German system of supplementary exports by making payments in blocked marks, depreciated German foreign bonds and scrips enables us to make good a certain part of what the British and American currency devaluation has taken away from us. This system is quite capable of further development and we shall do our utmost in this direction, especially as our foreign creditors have latterly grasped the justified necessity of this system.

"I would like, therefore, to conclude by stressing the fact that the German government is still unshakable in its determination to safeguard the purchasing power of the worker and the thrifty section of the population, and that there can be no talk whatsoever of a devaluation of the German mark."

Quite aside from these oft-repeated reasons, it deserves to be pointed out that a devaluation of the mark would mean increasing again the burden of Germany's foreign indebtedness because the bulk of these debts are payable in foreign currency. The advantages gained by the depreciation of foreign currencies would thereby be lost. This would give rise to the danger of export articles falling in price and a consequent reduction in Germany's foreign currency earnings, a state of affairs that could be met only by increasing the volume of exports. Obviously, an increase in volume instead of in value would be of no real advantage at all, in fact, it would be a great disadvantage because it would entail the purchase of additional supplies of raw materials from abroad payable in foreign currency.

Finally, a devaluation of the German mark would be bound to have unfavourable repercussions in a country which has had so much experience of the effects of inflation as Germany has. It would derange the entire credit machinery and put a damper on thrift. All progress made in the domain of the capital market would be rendered futile.

The viewpoint adopted by Dr. Schacht has undergone no modification since then. On September 27th, 1936, the French government informed the German government of the text of the declaration on the devaluation of the French franc, published in Paris, Washington and London. It drew the attention of the German government to the paragraph calling for the collaboration of all other countries in the task of giving effect to the policy formulated in this declaration.

Dr. Schacht thereupon focussed public attention on the fact that the policy of the Three Powers, as formulated in this declaration, of preserving peace and helping to create conditions most likely to contribute towards the restoration of order in world trade relations, and of pursuing a policy aimed at the attainment of world prosperity and the raising of the standard of living in all countries, was absolutely in accordance with the wishes of Adolf Hitler as expressed in his declarations made on various solemn occasions. The German government

and the Reichsbank are, however, fully resolved to refrain from aggravating the conditions of uncertainty prevailing in the realm of world trade as a result of the action of certain countries in depreciating their currencies by following suit in this direction "I would like to explain Germany's case," stated Dr Schacht "by saying that the system of foreign exchange control, whose inconveniences and shortcomings have all along been fully recognised, cannot be made dispensable by anything in the way of devaluation The heavy burden of debt arising from the injustice of Versailles and the difficulties of obtaining raw materials have made it obligatory Only a modification of these conditions will enable us to dispense with it It needs to be pointed out, however, that dependent upon the solution of this problem is not only the economic welfare of Germany but of all those countries which are interested in selling their goods to a market serving some seventy million human beings"

These words are a fresh endorsement of the programme which the National Socialist government proclaimed at its accession to power No currency experiment!

A new Executive of the Economic Regime

On November 27th, 1937, the Fuhrer and Chancellor relieved Dr Schacht at the latter's request, of his duties as Reich Minister of Economy Dr Schacht will continue, however, to be President of the Reichsbank, and to act as personal adviser to the Fuhrer on economic matters, and has therefore been appointed Reich Minister without portfolio In a letter addressed to him, the Fuhrer expressed his thanks for his exceedingly valuable services, adding that he fully appreciated the reasons which prompted Dr Schacht to ask for permission to tender his resignation These reasons were connected with the rearrangement of the economic regime, it having been found necessary to amalgamate the executive apparatus for the Four-Years Plan with the Reich Ministry of Economy The Fuhrer's letter concluded with his expression of the hope that Dr Schacht's eminent skill and knowledge, in his capacity as President of the Reichsbank, would remain available to the German people and to him personally for many more years to come

The new Reich Minister of Economy is Herr Walther Funk, up to then Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda and Head of the Reich Press Department His appointment was to date from January 15th, 1938, and Field Marshal Goring, the Fuhrer's Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan, was instructed to conduct the business of the Reich Ministry of Economy during the six weeks' interval

When Field Marshall Göring took over that temporary office, he pointed out that this arrangement had been decided upon because it would be necessary to ensure the complete coordination of all those public offices that had a share in the work of carrying out the Four Years Plan The Führer had commissioned him, he said, to effect a far reaching organisational and personal readjustment and to take whatever steps might be required to guarantee the smooth working of the departments controlled by the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan

and the Reich Minister of Economy respectively In other words, the latter Ministry would become the executive organ for the work done in connection with the Four Years Plan

Practical shape was then given to these principles and the Reich Ministry of Economy was reorganised in the early part of February 1938 as set out hereunder

The Ministry now consists of five Departments (apart from the Central Department) Department I (Industrial Dept domestic raw materials and domestic working materials) with Major General Loeb as Head of the De partment and with four sub departments General matters and planning, questions affecting individual industries, chemicals, mineral oil —Depart ment II (Mining, iron, power economy) with Major General von Hanneken as Head of the Department and with three sub departments Mining, iron, power economy —Department III (Economic regime, commerce, handicrafts) with *Staatsrat* Schmeer, formerly Head of the Central Office for the Four Years Plan in the German Labour Front, as Head of the Department and with two sub departments Economic organisation, factory policy —Department IV (Money matters and credit system) with President Lange as Head of the De partment —Department V (Foreign trade foreign exchange, exports) with Major (retd) von Jagwitz as Head of the Department and with three sub departments Foreign markets, exchange control, exports

The following authorities were likewise placed under the control of the Ministry (1) Reich Office for Economic Development (Research, planning, working of the Four Years Plan) with Major Dr Czimatis as Head and with two sub offices (*a*) Research and new developments, (*b*) Planning and working of the Plan —(2) Reich Office for Soil Research (comprising the former geological State institutes) with Herr Keppler (holding the rank of a Secretary of State) as President —(3) Reich Commissioner for Utilisation of Waste Materials

The following were appointed Secretaries of State in the Reich Ministry of Economy Herr Brinkmann, a member of the Board of Governors of the Reichsbank and Herr Posse (for special purposes)

On the occasion of Herr Funk, the new Minister of Economy entering upon the duties of his office, Field Marshal Goring delivered an address in which he pointed out that the Ministry of Economy would now be in a position, thanks to the arrangements made, to carry out the Four Years Plan in all its details in so far as they belonged to its competency To render this possible, several new appointments had to be made but it would be erroneous to believe that under the terms of the reorganisation scheme he (the speaker) had ceased to be the responsible director of the Plan Such an assumption would be the very reverse of the truth The fact of the matter was that the reorganisation scheme greatly facilitated the task assigned to him by the Fuhrer, which was to direct the working of the Plan in accordance with the guiding lines laid down by him Seeing that some of the tasks contemplated under the Plan

exceeded the scope and the competency of the Ministry of Economy, it had been necessary to leave intact the original organisation of the Plan that had proved so valuable to them, such as the office of the Reich Commissioner for Price Policy and those dealing with the food supply, allocation of labour, foreign exchange, transportation, forestry, etc. This organisation had now been amalgamated with that of the Ministry of Economy and the other competent authorities, and the whole of the organic entity thus formed was placed under the control of the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan

Herr Funk, replying, said that Field Marshal Göring had entrusted to him the principal executive functions in connection with the working of the Four Year Plan It would be his duty to secure the freedom of German national economy and to safeguard the foundations vital to the continued existence of the German people. Visible successes had already been achieved during the first year of the Plan, which—by common consent—was the most decisive one In the course of 1937 the production of domestic raw materials was half as large again as it had been in 1928/29, which was a boom year. The volume of exports had gone up by 19 per cent, and that of imports, by 18 per cent, thus proving that the intentions behind the Four-Years Plan were not hostile to foreign trade development The speaker then outlined the tasks confronting manufacturers Nothing, he said, could provide a more fruitful stimulus to private enterprise than the Four-Years Plan No antagonism could be allowed to exist between public and private enterprise It had always been the case that an era of large-scale public enterprise provided a huge impetus for private business activity. The body economic would have to be protected against its most deadly enemies, such as know-nothings, informers, bureaucrats, etc Anyone, he concluded, who attacked the nation's economy, attacked the Minister of Economy.

The great importance attached by National Socialists to production, not merely as a weapon in the struggle against unemployment, but also as a means of adding to the national income, is evidenced by the following words of the Fuhrer which are quoted from the speech he delivered to the Reichstag on February 20th, 1938, and which indicate the economic programme of the future —

"No other way remains to us but to work harder and to produce more The German people is a people which makes high demands on life If the rest of the world were influenced by great statesmen instead of by journalists, it would be thankful for this fact For, the higher the standard of living and culture of a nation, the greater will be its longing for peace It is peace alone which can enable it to accomplish those things which make a high standard of life possible

"Our economic position is difficult—not, however, because National Socialism rules in Germany, but because in this country there are 140 human beings to the square kilometre, because we have not been given those great natural resources which other nations possess, because, above all, we have a lack of fertile soil If the British Empire were suddenly to be dissolved today and England were to be restricted to its own living space, then perhaps the English would better understand the difficulty of the economic problems which confront us

"The fact that Germany has mastered these problems and the manner in which she has done so are miracles and something of which we can be really proud. Germany possesses no sort of gold or foreign exchange reserves, the reason for this not being that National Socialism is in power, but that the non-National-Socialist, democratic-parliamentary State was despoiled for fifteen years by a world eager for plunder; Germany is a country which has to support 140 people to the square kilometre and possesses no colonies whatever; Germany is lacking in numerous raw materials and is neither able nor willing to lead a fraudulent existence on credit; but this same country has reduced its unemployment to zero, and has not merely maintained its standard of life, but has even improved it and has done all this by its own efforts. Now, when a people has accomplished a miracle of this sort, then those nations at any rate should be silent who, in spite of the most favourable economic conditions, hardly manage to solve their own unemployment problems.

"In future, too, it will be our task to preserve the German people from all illusions. But the worst illusion is to imagine that one can enjoy anything which has not first been created and produced by labour; in other words, in future too it will be our duty to make it clear to every single German, in town and country, that the value of his labour must always be equivalent to his wage. The farmer can only get for his agricultural products what the townsman has previously earned, and the townsman can only get what the farmer has won from the soil, and taken altogether, they can all only exchange what they produce, and money only plays the part of intermediary. It has no utility value of its own. Every mark more paid in Germany presupposes that a mark's worth of more labour has been performed. Apart from that, this mark is a mere piece of paper without purchasing power. But we want our reichsmark to remain an honest note, an honest token for the product of labour just as honestly performed by another.

"This is the true cover for a currency, the only real backing. In this way we have made it possible, without gold and without foreign exchange, to maintain the value of the German mark, and have thus secured the value of our savings at a time when the countries which are overflowing with gold and foreign exchange, have been compelled to devaluate their currencies."

The new Reich Minister for Economic Affairs who is possessed of a deep knowledge of his subject, and has been the economic advisor of the Führer for years, showed in his first public statements that his ideas go far beyond the rigid bureaucratic field and that he has a clear insight into the economic problems of Germany within the framework of world trade.

At the opening of the Leipzig Fair on March 7, 1938, Walther Funk held an address in which he referred to repeated assertions made abroad that Germany's economic resurrection was coincident with a general resuscitation of world trade. This might be true in a way, he said, but Germany had profited little from the wave of prosperity as her foreign trade had been materially handicapped by regulative measures which had become necessary. Besides in the second half-year of 1937 there had been a general recession, but for all that the country's economy had continued to develop along progressive lines. It must be emphasised that the National Socialist economic policy set greatest store by more extensive foreign trade and improvements in international payments and commercial conditions. Foreign publicists on the subject had

repeatedly come to the conclusion on the strength of their investigations that German economy was absolutely sound and slump-proof Its stability had been brought about by virtue of the principle embodied in the National Socialist form of government which admits that politics precede economics This fundamental principle had determined those economic measures which aimed at removing the untenable economic dependence on foreign countries As Germany had neither gold nor foreign exchange, work in itself formed the new foundation for her public wealth, which was a more solid foundation than gold, nor had she been led into any currency experiments which in the ultimate consequence invariably proved detrimental to public wealth The Reichsmark had remained throughout an honest note There had been no resorting to sliding scales in prices and wages but both had been kept stable

The Minister then examined the question whether on the basis of experiences in the post war era a new system of international trade and of payments could be evolved Any improvement in this direction, as well as a new basis of exchange, he regarded as indeed possible though it required an adaptation in economic thought and in the methods practised by those countries which discriminated in their trade relations with those which had been compelled to go over to controlled foreign trade Germany must expend special effort on the exportation of her latest industrial raw materials as these represented a new industry in the process of becoming, for the new materials owing to their high quality and the many uses to which they can be put, bid fair to capture world markets Through the powerful upward development of her economy Germany must become an attractive country for capital investment

That foreign trade and the currency situation were still unsatisfactory in spite of this, and could only be maintained with the aid of State control, lay in the unsettled state of affairs with regard to foreign debts and the colonial question Reliable estimates give the saving in foreign exchange through a return of the colonies at 200 million marks, which in the course of time would reach 500 to 600 million marks In addition to the colonial possession as such they represented as well an additional source of production As the colonies had been taken away from Germany not solely on economic considerations but by way of a mortifying punishment, their restoration has become a question of national honour

On the subject of foreign indebtedness it might be said that German guaranteed bonds were quoted abroad at levels and bore such interest rates which were unwarranted and devastating to her prestige This indebtedness belonged to an era now overcome in which foreign politics mingled with foreign credits Germany now neither desired nor required loans from abroad, but some arrangement must be arrived at with regard to already existing loans which took into account her political and economic situation and contributed to stable and normal conditions After all, the value of the Mark abroad depended upon this question, and its value—like all other German values—must be appraised anew

On the occasion of a festive gathering of Bremen business men on June 16, 1938, Reich Minister Funk addressed the meeting inter alia on the problem

of political indebtedness He stressed the fact that international discussions in recent times displayed a certain apprehension of a new slump In this, Germany and the United States stood at opposite poles, while the United States could be regarded as a centre of economic unrest, German economy presented an unbroken resistance to any new incursion in the way of a depression As an example of the upward development of her economy, the Minister mentioned her present steel production which in the first five months of 1938 exceeded even that of the United States (U S A 9 18 million tons—Germany 9 2 million tons) The so called world market which was very apt to upset things stood on the whole, for much less than was generally believed Thus, in 1929, world trade turnover amounted to 284 milliard marks, in 1936 to 105 milliard marks, and in 1937, 130 milliard marks Compared with these figures the business turnover in Germany for 1937 amounted to 210 milliard marks Her exports comprised 8 7% of the public income, in the United States this relation was 5 4%, in England 10% and in France 11 4% Developments showed clearly that individual national economies endeavoured to rid themselves of the influence of world market trends

The greatest confusion here was due to political indebtedness Reparations which had brought Germany to the verge of ruin belonged to this category A political debt could not become a private debt by the mere fact that private individuals took the place of governments on the creditor side This characterised the Dawes and Young Loans and had been strongly contested all through by National Socialism The Minister made mention of the fact that the prestige of National Socialist Germany could not put up with the present quotations for German bonds abroad An arrangement must be found to lower the interest rates of 7 and 5 5% to a normal level The system of political indebtedness was rejected in Germany as being inimical to national economy Political debts, as history revealed, were always indigent, they never served an economic purpose but some political gain

A typical example of this were the political loans to Austria A conference of Guarantor Powers at Rome (Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Czecho Slovakia and Switzerland—but not Italy) contended that Germany had become the legal successor to the three Austrian Government guaranteed loans Accordingly, the Reich Government was requested to acknowledge liability (The three loans concerned are the Com version Loan former League of Nations Loan—status at the end of 1936 567 4 million Austrian shillings—,the Austrian seven per cent Loan of 1930—323 6 million shillings, and the Lausanne Loan 1933—245 million shillings) Such liability, however, as the Minister pointed out, does not exist After the Boer War England did not take over the debts of the Boer Republics, the same applies to the United States after the Civil War in respect of Confederacy bonds and to France on acquiring Madagascar In line with this international practice the Reich could not be expected to take over Austria's guaranteed Loans

The point needing elucidation was whether present day Austria, now become

part of the Reich, was to be regarded as the legal successor to the Austria set up by the Treaty of St Germain The latter had not been transferred to the Reich but had ceased to exist as such The enforced structure of St Germain while ignoring the will of the people had only been able to exist at all with the aid of financial and political support from abroad Germany emphatically denied that the loans had contributed to Austrian reconstruction, credits had been given with the express purpose of preventing the Anschluss The economic outcome of this foreign financial aid had been so disastrous as to be no credit to the Guarantor Powers concerned The assertion that Germany must assume liability because she had taken over the Austrian economic assets, was unjust ifiable as Austria had none to show which owed their existence to money from abroad There were, therefore, neither legal, economic, political nor moral grounds for the Reich to acknowledge liability As to the business of settling this matter, negotiations would be carried on by the Guarantor Powers, more especially by a British Delegation in the spirit of conciliation without prejudice to Germany's fundamental standpoint

The Minister concluded by saying that national credit which each country must create for itself through diligence, must in time replace the system of international credits which was steadily losing ground

At a gathering of Pommeranian business interests in Stettin on July 1, 1938, Herr Funk spoke of new foundations for world trade He stated on that occasion that next to the United States and England Germany was the third greatest commercial country, even though she possessed no colonies In industrial production Germany was placed second after the United States Today it was necessary for her to negotiate economic agreements with a series of countries If the threat of an economic war were attempted immeasurable consequences would be the result by the loss of 75 million people to world trade In all the negotiations the desire for an understanding had been apparent throughout The Minister referred especially to the Anglo German Agreement which paid due consideration to the interests of both countries[1] Great weight was laid during the negotiations upon the need for extending mutual trade

It was necessary to find new ways and means in international commodity exchange as this can no longer be built up on currency, gold and credits, but only on the basis of production, goods and prices With regard to domestic economy, the Minister stated that this must be guided politically, that is, on the tenets of National Socialism This demanded that the economic policy should be implemented by Party and State along identical lines The whole structure, however, must never lead to economic bureaucracy He then announced the plan for decentralising the tasks of the Reich Ministry for Economic Affairs No additional administrative bodies were to be formed but the tasks of the central administration must be diverted into decentralised channels

[1] including the Austrian Loans guaranteed by England (Author's Note)

XII.

Public Finances

It is clearly impossible for a State to carry on either its domestic or foreign policy at long sight if its financial position is not a sound one or if the government has not the necessary means for meeting its obligations. A balanced budget is the first prerequisite for a stable and assured conduct of the affairs of state. This postulates the necessity of a financial, tariff and taxation policy which, without placing too great obstacles in the way of import trade, and without overburdening the taxpayers, will assure a normal relationship between national revenue and expenditure.

Financial Policy of the Past

In the days of the Weimar Republic, the German government sought to improve the budgetary position by imposing new taxes. It was under the pressure of the enormous expenditure incurred in respect of the unemployment dole, which exceeded 3 milliard marks annually, whereas, at the same time, the national revenue of 9 milliard marks, in the period 1928–31, sank to 7.8 milliard marks in 1931–32, and even to 6.65 milliard marks in 1932–33. In the period 1931–32, when Brüning was in control of affairs, the existing taxes were increased, or new taxes introduced, by virtue of no less than 23 emergency decrees, despite the fact that in 1931 the German taxpayer was already paying 45% more in taxes than in the year 1925.The report of the Special Advisory Committee of the Bank of International Settlements, issued at Basle on December 23rd, 1931, and to which we have already alluded, allows of no doubt in this respect: "the burden of taxation in Germany is so heavy as to leave no room for a further increase."

In order to save the national budget from being burdened to a still greater extent, the Reich had to turn over more and more tasks to the municipalities and municipal organisations which were already encountering great difficulties owing to the growing army of unemployed. Numerous German municipalities had to go into bankruptcy and many others were compelled for months on end to conduct negotiations with the banks that had loaned them money, seeking to get a prolongation of their short-term credits which had swelled into huge debts through the burden of the heavy interest payments. It was impossible for them to obtain long-term loans at a low rate of interest. The total indebtedness of the German municipalities and communal bodies had amounted from 6,542 million marks (of which 2,570 million were long-term, 551 million marks

medium term and 974 million short-term domestic loans) in the year 1928 to 11 295 million marks in the year 1932 (of which 5,326 million were long term, 1,121 million medium term and 1,668 million short-term domestic loans)

The period of make believe prosperity, lasting from 1927 to 1929, when Germany took out an immense number of foreign loans, had the inevitable effect of giving bumper revenue returns But none seemed to realise the fact that it was nothing but an illusory phenomenon Statesmen seemed to be entirely lacking in insight and, to make matters worse, the entire country was living beyond its means The increased revenue returns were squandered No attempt was made to create a reserve fund and it was under such circumstances that the country, spending recklessly and without any reserve assets, was steered into the world crisis The reports of Parker Gilbert, former agent general of reparations in Berlin, are convincing enough on this point The withdrawal of the credits in the year 1930 put an end to this disceptive state of affairs and, simultaneous with the breakdown of the economic system, led to a total collapse of the state finances which got caught in the millstones of falling revenue and growing cost of the dole

This general decline gave rise to the necessity of cutting down expenditure in every direction It enforced a policy of deflation to save the country from the chaos that would have been the inevitable outcome of national bankruptcy or a renewed inflation This enforced deflation, however, merely meant a further deterioration as each crisis brought about a diminution of the national revenue and a consequent increase in unemployment

This deflationist policy was bound in the end to bring about a general explosion It occurred in the year 1932–33 and compelled the country to adopt a different policy

The New Financial Policy

As Count Schwerin von Krosigk, German Minister for Finance, remarked in the course of a speech to the Dusseldorf Industrial Club, it was impossible for Germany at that time to wait for the revival of world trade There was absolutely nothing in the economic and political trends prevailing at the time that might lead one to presume an early removal of the obstacles to a revival of this kind Moreover, it would have involved too great a risk to wait until the so called self healing forces began to stir within the body of German national economy and proceeded, presumably in an automatic fashion, to awaken it to new life and growth That was practically impossible because the vital organs of industrial life had become infected with the cancer of the chronic state of crisis Furthermore, the specific nature of the conditions obtaining in Germany excluded the possibility of having recourse to such self healing forces as the creation of credit and the absorption of new capital Unlike other countries, Germany was not in a position to adopt this course of action

Nothing else remained but for the State to have recourse to active intervention It was now left for the State to cast into the breach the only thing it still possessed, namely, its credit

The preliminary conditions for launching out on an active credit policy of this sort were present in the spring of 1933: the economic prerequisites were provided by the fact that the practical termination of reparations in the summer of 1932 had removed all obstacles to an industrial revival. Moreover, the business depression had touched the lowest mark and everything now pointed to a recovery. Politically, too, the moment was auspicious because the accession to power of Adolf Hitler had created the preliminary conditions for the spread of confidence in a strong, authoritarian government now able to make its dispositions at long sight. Hence the spring of 1933 saw the inauguration of the concentrated attack on unemployment in accordance with an all-inclusive plan.

The most important steps that were forthwith taken in this direction were:—

(1) Advances on the budget by the issue of labour bonds, by the grant of cash advances, of interest reimbursement bonds, of loans and of tax abatements.

(2) General liberation from old debts, reduction and adjustment of taxes.

(3) Conversion of the debts incurred by the German communities, reduction of the rate of interest and reorganisation of the credit economy.

(4) Grant of marriage loans and state support for large families.

The Reinhardt Programme

I have already had occasion, in the chapter dealing with social policy (see the section "Labour to the Fore"), to refer to the important laws (Reinhardt Programme) of June 1st and September 21st, 1933 relating to the reduction of unemployment. It will suffice to call to mind that the first parts of these two laws provided for the expenditure of approximately 2 milliard marks for the furtherance of public and private work schemes, this sum to be paid out in the form of loans, advances and interest reimbursement bonds. The money was raised in part by voluntary contributions towards the promotion of big undertakings of national importance, but for the most part by short-term and medium-term advances on the national budget.

To these 2 milliard marks must be added the 900 million marks which had previously been made available by legislation taken within the framework of the Papen Programme and the so-called "Immediacy Programme." A further sum of 1,400 million marks flowed into the veins of German industry in the years 1934 to 1937 in that, during these four years, the Reich accepted in payment tax reimbursement bonds to this amount instead of cash payments.

If we include the subsidiary costs in our account, it will be found that the German budget was drawn on in advance to the extent of approximately 4,500 million marks. The subsequent course of events fully showed that there was nothing in the nature of a gamble in this bold step. It was and still continues to be counterbalanced by a corresponding reduction in the cost of unemployment and by an increase in the national revenue from taxation. (Added to these enormous sums is a further amount of 900 million marks which the Reich Institute for Unemployment Insurance has appropriated in the period from 1933

to the current year, as well as the 1,500 million marks expended so far on the construction of the Reich automobile roads and the supplementary work creation programmes of the German State Railways and German Post Office)

Section 11 of the Law of June 1st, 1933, relating to the reduction of unemployment deals with tax exemption in the purchase of replacements This was devised to encourage the industrialist and business man to replace, before the end of 1934 out of date stock representing capital investments They were permitted to deduct all the money spent on the purchase of new stock or the repair of existing stock from their profits in assessing the amount to be paid under the income tax, corporation tax and industrial tax The assessment of deduction in respect of the deterioration of stock was permissible for the entire period during which the stock was being used The Reich was able to make this bold venture on taxation policy in full knowledge of the fact that the sum lost to the national revenue in respect of purchase or repair of stock would be made good in the following years Viewed in this light, it became a sort of loan granted by the taxation authorities, given in the form of an allowance for stock deterioration in the years 1934 and 1935 and which is now being repaid to the Reich in that deductions in respect of deterioration can no longer be claimed

This measure, which from the very outset was devised to operate only over a definite period of time, has been supplemented by the new Law of October 16th 1934 relating to income tax The new law goes further in the sense that new capital investments in respect of machinery needed to run an industrial business or agricultural undertaking, provided the life of this machinery or installation does not under normal conditions exceed five years, may be deducted in the matter of tax assessment from the profits of the year of acquisition or repair

The granting of taxation loans of this kind has led to far reaching successful results The law chiefly applies to the acquisition of machinery by industrial or agricultural undertakings The turnover of the machine building industry is now five times what it was in the year 1933 and more than double the turnover of the peak year 1928 (see graph on page 231)

A further section of the first Law relating to the Reduction of Unemployment contains a taxation measure devised to act as an incentive to the employment of domestic servants An earlier law had exempted domestic servants from the payment of unemployment insurance and substantially reduced their contribution to Health Insurance Domestic servants are now exempted from the unemployment relief levy, and moreover, a domestic servant may be considered as a member of the household when calculating tax abatement in respect of the family income This latter measure has been incorporated in the new income tax law in the sense that the taxpayer is permitted to deduct from his total income fifty marks per month for each domestic servant in his employ

The consequence of this tax abatement has led to a considerable increase in the demand for domestic servants and this, in turn, has done much to reduce both

unemployment and the money squandered by the state on the dole system. There is already an appreciable shortage of domestic servants in Germany.

A permanent feature of the Law of June 1st, 1933, relating to the reduction of unemployment is the grant of marriage loans already dealt with in the chapters discussing population policy and social policy. It has since been considerably extended by the promulgation of various decrees with regard to State aid for families in respect of the number of their children.

According to figures published by the Reich Statistical Office, down to the beginning of the year 1933 the total number of marriages was 300,000 less than might have been expected under normal conditions and in view of the number of marriageable persons. This was in the main attributable to the bad economic conditions prevailing at the time. Many of the young people were eager enough to get married but saw no possibility of being able to face the financial side of matrimony. Something had to be done to overcome this state of affairs. Moreover, it was found necessary to go beyond the mere restoration of what was formerly deemed to be normal conditions by inducing marriageable young women to give up their jobs or turn their backs on the dole system and enter in preference the state of matrimony.

The outcome of this measure, the personal achievement of State Secretary Reinhardt, has been to stimulate in a very high degree the desire of married couples to have children. Already about 960,000 loans of this kind have been granted and approximately 825,000 children have been born of marriages which, as far as their material side is concerned, are based on marriage grants.

The money required for granting loans of this kind was found by increasing the income tax of bachelors and spinsters and the money received from the repayment of the marriage grants has been used for providing financial assistance to large families.

Apart from the single payment of assistance in necessitous cases, since August 1936 regular financial assistance has been given by the State to large families wherever this is needed. They are given 10 marks for each third and fourth child, 20 marks for each fifth and each additional child to wage and salary earners; 10 marks for each fifth and each additional child to agricultural labourers and members of the liberal professions. Altogether for about 2½ million children.

By virtue of a section of the second Law relating to the Reduction of Unemployment, promulgated on September 21st, 1933, the turnover tax payable by members of the German farming community has been halved, whilst another section of the law reduces the land tax.

This had led to an improvement in the output of the German agricultural industry. The burden of indebtedness borne by the German agricultural industry in the years 1935–36 amounted to 460 million marks which represented a decrease of approximately 100 million marks since the critical period of 1932–33, and a drop to the lowest level since the end of the Great War. German agriculture has therefore greatly benefited from the taxation policy of the government. In proof of this, it only needs to be stated that the actual revenue of the

agricultural industry rose by 2.4 milliard marks in the period from 1932 to 1935. The direct reduction of taxation granted to the farming community has for the most part been reflected in the development of prices for agricultural products.

Another effective measure was the reduction of the levy for unemployment relief, which amounted to approximately 400 million marks. It led to an increase in the purchasing power of wage earners. Mention should also be made of measures granting tax exemption for newly-erected house blocks containing small-sized flats and newly-erected one-family houses, for the abolition of the tax on German champagne and mineral water, for the reduction of the turnover tax in respect of domestic wholesale trade and the reduction of the tax on dividends from house property.

Additional Fiscal Measures

On July 15th, 1933, the German government promulgated a law relating to tax reductions. It gave the German Minister for Finance full authority to grant, for such time as he thought fit, partial or complete exemption from Reich and Municipal taxation to those firms engaged in trying out new processes of production or in the actual production of new articles of recognised importance to the German industry as a whole. Extensive use has been made of this authority. It is a measure of special importance for the carrying out of the Four Years Plan. It has also provided the government with an instrument for exercising a certain price control, as the tendency is for these new products to rise in price during their experimental stage. Further measures devised either to stimulate the demand for goods, to increase output or to raise the purchasing power of large families are contained in the government bills embodied in the Tax Reform of October 16th, 1934. Most of these new bills are primarily concerned with the question of paying greater regard to the need for safeguarding family life in the imposition of income tax, poll tax, property tax and death duties.

Thus, a married wage earner is completely exempted from payment of the income tax if, with a family of four children his monthly income does not exceed 260 marks, or with a family of five children, his monthly income does not exceed 351 marks, or with a family of six children 793 marks, or with seven children 910 marks, or with eight children 1,027 marks, and so on. Over and above this, the rate of taxation in the case of these large families begins at a low level. A married man with six children and a monthly income of 800 marks has to pay only 1 mark 4 pfennigs income tax per month.

In the case of the Citizen's Tax, which is a sort of poll tax, formerly no regard at all was paid to the need for safeguarding family life. It was, in fact, a poll tax pure and simple. A change in this matter was made on January 1st, 1935. A married worker with four children and earning 50 marks a week had, prior to this reform of the Citizen's Tax, to pay no less than 42 marks a year in respect of this poll tax. The same worker is now completely exempted from the payment of this tax. The exemption level for this tax has been raised so that the number of persons paying the Citizen's Tax has been considerably reduced.

As regards the Property Tax, as things are now each man, woman and minor is allowed to possess up to 10,000 marks free of Property Tax Thus, for instance, a man with wife and three children can possess tax free up to 40,000 marks, a sum on which formerly he would have had to pay 200 marks Property Tax annually

Alleviations have also been granted in respect of the Legacy Tax A son or daughter can now inherit free of tax up to 30,000 marks, and a grandchild up to 10,000 marks Prior to the year 1935, a child inheriting an estate of 25,000 marks from its father, had to pay death duties, whereas today it would inherit the full amount

This increased regard for the need of safeguarding family life, taken in conjunction with the regular state grants in support of large families, is designed as a first step in the direction of affording some compensation to those who shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of married life The German government intends to proceed further in this direction and envisages the creation of a Reich Family Equilisation Fund, which will enable the State to make a still more equitable adjustment of taxation in respect of the burdens of family life

In a special chapter dealing with Transport and Communications I shall deal with the fiscal measures that have been adopted with a view to accelerating production in the automobile and allied industries in connection with the con struction of Adolf Hitler's motorways I shall also have occasion to speak of the "motorisation" of modern Germany

But before concluding this review of the financial measures adopted by the National Socialist regime, it will be as well to draw attention to the policy that has been pursued for restoring the financial health of the German municipalities

The Law of September 21st, 1933, relating to the conversion of the debts of the German municipalities rendered possible the conversion of the medium and short term debts into long term debts and liberated the municipalities from the intolerable burden of the interest payments The law entitled all municipalities which were confronted with difficulties in respect of the payment of interest on their short term borrowings to acquire membership of a Conversion Alliance The municipalities were advised to go ahead with their debt conversion schemes by offering their creditors 4% debt transfer bonds of the Conversion Alliance, redeemable from October 1st, 1936, within a period of twenty years by annual conversion of three per cent In the event of the creditor declining to accept this offer, he must hold in abeyance for a period of five years his demand for re payment inclusive of interest The Reich undertook to come to the aid of the Alliance if it found itself unable to carry out its debt services and to subtract these advances from the share of the national revenue claimed by the munici palities The Conversion Alliance has opened an account with the Prussian State Bank The total amount of the short term debts subject to conversion was estim ated at the time to be about 2,000 million marks

The results speak volumes for the success of this measure Whereas in the year 1932, of the 11 295 milliard marks total indebtedness of the German muni

cipalities 5 326 milliard marks were long term borrowings and 2 789 milliard marks medium-term or short term loans, the present position is that of a total of 10 987 milliard as much as 7 461 milliard are long-term debts and only 435 million medium-term or short-term debts

At the same time, the money spent on the relief of distress was no longer borne to 80% of its extent by the Reich and only 20% by the municipalities, but solely by the Reich Institute for Labour Exchange and Unemployment Relief This in itself, did much to improve the finances of the municipalities Finally, a limit was fixed for the obligations taken over by the municipalities in respect of contributions to the Welfare Funds This enabled the municipalities to under take to make definite contributions, and it deserves to be said that the amount of these contributions was below that of its former obligations under this head

Another important step towards the task of placing the finances of the German municipalities on a sound basis was the reform of the Real Estate Tax which can be regarded as a measure taken in preparation of the Reich reform

The Land Tax and Industrial Tax were formerly federal taxes, on which the various municipalities and municipal bodies were entitled to raise their super taxes Reich legislation had furnished no uniform legal foundation for these taxes, which were, in fact, the outcome of sixteen different provincial legislative bodies each acting independently in the matter of imposing and collecting them Four measures resolved on by the Reich on December 1st, 1936, placed the regulation of the "Real Steuern" on a uniform basis for the whole of Germany The Land Tax and Industrial Tax hereupon ceased to be a concern of the pro vincial bodies which were left solely with the imposition and collection of the Municipal Tax This latter tax thus became the main source of revenue for the municipalities These arrangements were made as a definite step forward towards the achievement of the ultimate goal which provides for the existence in future of only two kinds of taxes, namely, Reich and municipal taxes

This transference of tax contribution from the federal states to the municipal ities rendered necessary the re allocation of the obligations and duties as between the federal states, municipalities and municipal bodies Principles have been set up in this respect allotting to the municipalities throughout the Reich those tasks which they are expected to carry out in accordance with their augmented tax revenue and in keeping with their specific duties

Results down to the Present

The reduction of unemployment was the most elementary necessity for bring ing about a betterment of the social and economic conditions of the German people and for placing its finances on a sound footing It brought about a steady reduction in the amount of money spent on unemployment relief As we have seen, it was rendered possible by measures devised to increase the demand for goods and for output The expansion of the demand for goods and output created greater opportunities for work, increased the turnover in trade and augmented

the assets. And this expansion of turnover and assets led, as a matter of course, to an increase of revenue from taxes and levies.

The fall in unemployment was reflected in a decrease in the amount of money spent from public funds which now began to accumulate again and to show a decided improvement:—

	Reich revenue	Surplus compared with 1932–33
	(in milliard marks)	
1933–34	6 85	0 20
1934–35	8 22	1.57
1935–36	9 65	3 —
1936–37	11.49	4 82
1937–38	13.96	7 31

The Reich revenue has therefore been more than doubled during the course of the last five years

The various work creation measures have effected a permanent improvement of the national economy and of the output and capacity of German industry. New economic values have been created. New ideas and new methods have been adopted and old ones re-vitalised. At the same time, the material prerequisites were created for the building up again of Germany's armed forces.

"Again and again I find people asking," declared Herr Reinhardt, Secretary of State, in a speech before a Munich gathering, "where we get all the money to finance the big building schemes, to spend on the armed forces and for all the other things" The truth of the matter is as follows —

"The money comes for the most part from the ordinary balanced budget, and, in part, from the proceeds of such purposive taxation as, for instance, the Automobile Tax whose proceeds, together with some of the money derived from the transport tax, petrol dues and taxes and lubricating oil dues, furnish the money for the construction of the German network of motorways Another part of the money needed is obtained as short-term or medium-term loan funds as precharges on the ordinary budget, or as long-term Reich loans..."

"The revenue of the Reich from taxation will amount, in the current fiscal year, to about 14 milliard marks Despite this favourable development, this amount is not big enough to completely cover the financial needs of the Reich which are extraordinarily high this year. Of the surplus from tax revenue, a portion flows into the budgets of the *Länder* and municipalities as their share of the Reich revenue from taxation One portion is required to cover the deficits of past years, and another portion for covering the loan funds obtained for financing the various work creation schemes and still another for the interest payment and amortisation of loans borrowed anew from the Reich during the past years In so far as the tax revenue surplus of the ordinary balanced budget does not suffice at present to cover the extraordinary financial requirements, short term and medium-term borrowings from the Reich are converted into

long term Reich loans In this way, the money that would otherwise have to be used to cover these short term and medium term debts can be used for financing the nation's big political programme of construction The total amount of these loan funds appears small compared with the tremendous resources and taxable capacity of the German people at work The interest payment and amortisation of the loans already taken out, as well as those projected, is absol utely assured by reason of the increased revenue of the Reich from taxation

'The budget of the Reich is a balanced one and will be kept balanced what ever may happen"

A London daily newspaper, even one that is known for its hostile attitude towards modern Germany, has had to admit in a recently published article on "New Germany" that the financial position of the Third Reich is in no way jeopardised as some would have the world believe "It is true," runs this com ment, "that under normal conditions the existence of a floating debt of 16 000 million marks would be regarded as a very dangerous 'potential of inflation" At the first signs of a financial or political disturbance the bonds held by banks or in the possession of private persons would be discounted by the Reichsbank and the note circulation would be forthwith doubled or trebled But this danger can be regarded as banned in Germany today The means of control at the disposal of the totalitarian State are so complete and effective that the German government has it in its power to nip such a danger in the bud It would easily be able to refuse the discount and in this way convert the current account notes into a sort of permanent loan

"Precisely for the same reason," this commentary continues, "it is wrong to suppose that Germany will soon be compelled for financial reasons to reduce its expenditure on armaments Just as the Reichsbank, thanks to its dictatorial command over the money market, is able to prevent a sudden inflation, it can likewise safely proceed with the issue of notes for the purpose of financing the deficit in the Reich budget"

This is borne out, moreover, by the fact that the extraordinary expenditure on national defence is now approaching completion and German financial policy has sought and is still seeking by way of cutting down expenses to bring the bulk of the loan funds used to finance the work creation and rearmament pro grammes once again within the scope of the current estimates This would assure a continuous development of the future work of national integration which could not be safely guaranteed otherwise

Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Minister for Finance, declared in the speech to which we have already had occasion to refer "We shall have to attain to the point where we shall be able, in future, to draw upon a covered budget to meet not only the vital sundry expenditures but also the current costs of arma ments To this end, we must be prepared to bring every requisite sacrifice"

Dr Schacht, it deserves to be added, made a reassuring statement on the state of Germany's finances in the course of an address delivered on March 12th, 1938, before the general meeting of the German Bank of Issue He said

among other things, there had been no attempt to hide the fact that alongside the growth in the long term indebtedness of the Reich there had been a considerable increase during the last few years in the short-term indebtedness and that so far it had not been found possible completely to cover or to consolidate this short-term indebtedness It should not be forgotten, however, that this rise in the national debt has been offset by a reduction in private debts Hence it was a question of a transference of indebtedness from the private to the public sector rather than of an increase in Germany's total indebtedness If financial factors alone, and not political ones, came into consideration here, nobody would have any misgivings against publishing the facts of Germany's financial situation Foreign critics would be astonished how little cause for any alarm there is in view of the results achieved The limits of state indebtedness have not been ignored and will not be ignored in future The Reichsbank is well aware that the path of financing so far pursued is not a road without an end

The consolidation of the economic conditions now makes it possible to depart from the method of intermediary financing by special bills of exchange and to obtain the requisite funds, in so far as these are not forthcoming from the regular budgetary revenue, by the issuance of Reich treasury bonds and Reich loans In so far as these treasury bonds are taken in payment, this will happen to an extent permitting of immediate consolidation This measure will serve to guarantee the health of Germany's currency and finances and enable the work of reconstruction to proceed apace

Greatest thrift and economy in the spending of public funds as also their centralised control will continue to be the impelling command The capabilities of the money and capital market must continue to remain largely reserved to the current Reich needs and to the consolidation or redemption of the short-term financing hitherto adopted

Thrift, that is the watchword which Dr Schacht is never tired of repeating "Der Deutsche Volkswirt," which is closely associated with the Reichsbank president, does not hesitate to paint a picture of the urgency of this question In one of its 1937 issues, it writes —

"Germany has to make up a lot of leeway It has to make up leeway in the matter of rearmament in which other countries are setting the pace It is seeking to make itself independent of foreign food supplies Owing to its lack of colonies, it is seeking by means of the second Four Years Plan to supply its own requirements of vital raw materials This is putting big claims on our resources of labour, raw materials, foreign exchange, and capital For a while our resources of labour seemed inexhaustible Today they have been enlisted to the fullest extent The credit machinery has been harnassed to the task of dealing with short term indebtedness At the end of July, the Reich had a note circulation of upwards of 7 milliard marks which is greater than at any time since the inflation When the goal of our efforts was first set up, there were stocks of raw material and foreign exchange available although precious little even then Today, we are no longer able to count very much on reserves of this sort The God of the Elements has not exactly lent support to our efforts during the last four years to become independent of foreign food supplies Considerable amounts of our foreign exchange holdings have had to be used up in the purchase of food for the nation

"There is, to be sure, no quarrel about the order of importance of the tasks to be accomplished First of all, a nation must live Hence it has to be fed It must be free Hence it has to be able to defend itself from attack In order to be able to defend itself it must, first of all, be armed, and secondly, it must have the assurance of being able to draw on certain reserve sources of strength These reserves are also needed to com plete the safety of its food supply and its defence This additional margin of safety is not a purely military conception In this Machine Age, it is of prime necessity to insure a continuous running of the wheels of industry This is the prime object of the second Four Years Plan Everything else becomes of subordinate importance, whether it be the requirements of administrative bodies, the fulfilment of the demands of the consuming public for goods that are not essential for the maintenance of life, or the fulfilment of the demands for display

"If the course so far taken by the work of national integration has, industrially speaking, swallowed up the reserve supplies of raw material and labour power it means that the current consumption is actually in excess of the revenue Provided con ditions remain what they are, the task of meeting the nation's essential requirements can be safely carried out from an organisational viewpoint only in the suggested sequence the measures hitherto adopted aim at insuring to an increasing decree that priority is not given to projects and tasks which cannot claim national urgency The forces of labour will have to be guided and controlled in this sense and the revenue from raw materials must be employed to this effect And if an unfavourable relation develops between the note circulation and the supply of goods, then it will be necessary to effect a curtailment of public expenditure and in this way throttle the circulation of money in respect of things which are not of vital importance to the nation'

It would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of the guiding principles adopted by the Third Reich for effecting a judicious employment of public funds Actually, Germany has been compelled to adopt such principles in order to realise its immediate aims of building up a strong national defence and safe guarding its national existence

"A real statesman," said Frederick the Great, "must be both thrifty and generous, thrifty in order to be generous"

XIII.

Communications

There has been a very notable growth in railway and automobile traffic during the first four years of the National Socialist regime. Every effort has been made to bring the railways to a high standard of technical efficiency and to satisfy the demands of the travelling public in the matter of punctuality, speed and comfort. As for the automobile, its development has received new impulse under the watchword "motorisation," in which respect the Reich can be said to occupy today pride of place among the nations.

The German Railways

It will be recalled that Adolf Hitler proclaimed in his Reichstag speech of January 30th, 1937, inter alia, the regained, unrestricted sovereignty of the Reich over the German railways. The German people received this announcement with joyful acclamation. Railway workers and officials warmly thanked the Fuhrer for having fulfilled their profound desire to see the German railways liberated from a form of control that had been set up against their will and that was alien to the nature of the German railways. These sentiments of gratitude found their expression on February 4th when 20,000 railway employees assembled in front of the Chancellery on the Wilhelmplatz in Berlin to ovate the Fuhrer in the name of 670,000 of their comrades. The enthusiasm that took hold of this gathering knew no bounds. Wave upon wave of jubilation were sent surging up to the Fuhrer who addressed the railwaymen from his balcony, thanking them for their loyal co-operation and exhorting them to continue to remain in the eyes of all German workers a model of devotion to duty.

The return of the world's biggest single enterprise to supreme State control was an event of international as well as domestic importance. International because it nullified the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which mortgaged the entire property of the Reich and the *Ländern*, and hence the German railways, as security for the payment of reparations to the Allies of those days. From a domestic point of view, it was important because it abolished the statutes imposed upon the German railways by the Allies and placed the German railways under a new administration controlled by the Reich.

In order to give you some insight into the various phases of the administrative development of the German railways, particularly with regard to the varying position occupied in relation to the State, we subjoin a few excerpts from a

lecture on "The German Railways in the Third Reich" delivered by Herr Kleinmann, State Secretary in the German Ministry of Transport and Deputy Director-General of the German Railways

It deserves to be said at the outset that the latter period of this development is particularly characterised by the "via dolorosa" which was a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles and by the victory gained over the menace of particularism in the organisation and management of the German railway system

"Remarkable as were the achievements of the German railways in the world war there was no hiding the fact that the Army Command and Army Transport Corps were often greatly inconvienced by the way in which the eight different Federal States claimed their own particular share in the administration and control of the German railways These experiences gave rise to the urgent desire for a uniform control of the German railway system

Actually, the fusion of the eight different federal railway systems into one Reich system was brought about on April 1st, 1920, as a consequence of the so called Heidelberg Programme 1918 and of the Weimar Constitution The German railways were placed under the control of the newly-formed Reich Ministry of Transport Despite this however, the *Lander* succeeded in reserving for themselves certain rights and interests which were designed later on to operate as very grave stumbling blocks

Influences of a domestic and foreign political character then began to make themselves felt to a very large extent in the further development of the German railways and brought it about that their management and control were left in the hands of private enterprise With the stabilisation of the German mark in November 1923 the German Minister of Finance cancelled the state grants that had hitherto been given to the German railways which were now compelled to borrow money elsewhere This brought into existence the private enterprise registered as "German Railways' It took upon itself to control and administer the railways which still remained the property of the Reich The German Minister for Transport took over the duties of the Director General of the German Railways The administration of the German Railways was made independent of all other Reich administration, a measure which constituted the first step towards economic and financial independence

As the Versailles Treaty had impounded the entire property of the German Reich as security for the payment of reparations, the creditor countries proceeded to claim the German Railways as pledge Actually, they were mortgaged to the extent of eleven milliard gold marks, and were charged with the necessity of raising the yearly sum of 660 million gold marks representing 5% interest and 1% amortisation In addition the proceeds of the Transport Tax to the extent of 290 million marks was bonded in respect of reparation payments The German Railways as an enterprise became converted into a company in its own right, to be run as an independent private enterprise both as regards finance and personnel A direct share in the administration was given to a Governing Body composed in part of foreigners A foreign commissar was appointed to supervise the task of raising the reparation payments

This solution amounted to an abandonment of Germany's sovereign rights over its most important means of communication, economically as well as from the viewpoint of national defence It will be readily understood that it was a solution which weighed heavily on both administration and personnel

Although the mortgage on the German railways was abolished in the year 1930 by virtue of the Young Plan and replaced by the imposition of a Reparations Tax designed

to enable the Reich to pay 660 million marks to the creditor countries, although this meant the disappearance of the international control bodies and the removal of foreigners from the administration, nevertheless the commitment still remained that alterations in the Statutes of the German railways were admissible only if made by a permanent committee of four members, two of whom were nominated by the German government and two by foreign powers.

The Lausanne Conference of 1932 foreshadowed the complete emancipation of the German railways from international ties of all description and abolished the payment of every form of reparations But as the governments concerned continued to withhold their ratification, the German railways still remained shackled

Throughout all these years the *Reichsbahn* was obliged to combat a sort of guerrilla warfare conducted by the provincial governments who were aspiring to gain certain privileges The measures adopted by the *Reichsbahn* with a view to the promotion of national interests were often deliberately obstructed, as at Leipzig, for instance, where an attempt at reorganisation was defeated It was also difficult in those days to keep the German Railways Company free from the influences of parliamentary groups The reserved attitude adopted by the German railways towards the various political trends of those had the effect of placing the *Reichsbahn* in a sort of isolation, making it almost a State within a State

The accession of the National Socialists to power led to the re-establishment of the *Reichsbahn* as a national institution belonging to the people The manifold claims of the *Länder* faded into thin air, the senseless Leipzig anachronism was abolished, the *Reichsbahn* was reincorporated in the administrative apparatus of the Reich and the word "Company" deleted Finally, the Führer's declaration of January 30th, 1937, and the consequent Law of February 10th liberated the German *Reichsbahn* from all remaining international ties. In this way, Germany regained complete sovereignty over its railways German railway employees were restored to the position of civil servants in the direct employ of the State It was given the sanction of law when the Fuhrer appointed the Director-General to the post of German Minister for Transport and the deputy Director General to the post of Secretary of State in the German Ministry of Transport."

Herr Kleinmann then went on to explain the "Railway Charter of Freedom," as he called it, as well as some of the measures adopted to give it permanency. In view of the misleading notions that have obtained currency abroad following certain publications, he was at pains to point out that no changes had occurred with regard to the preferred shares This is apparent from the fact that the holders of these preferred shares are entitled by the new statutes to be represented on the Advisory Council In conclusion, he explained how the close cooperation with the Ministry of Transport departments for shipping, waterways and automobile traffic provides for a frictionless and fruitful coordination as between the *Reichsbahn* and the other means of transportation, thus furnishing the possibility for the German transport system in its totality to develop in a way that will enable it to achieve outstanding results

The change in the relations of the *Reichsbahn* to the State had of necessity to be buttressed in law. This matter is now proceeding apace and will be

of transportation. It has therefore put in service 2,000 autocars and 700 trailers, enabling 6,000 places to be linked up with the general network of communications.

By providing for a proper balance between revenue and expenditure and by achieving an equitable solution of the problem of road and rail competition the *Reichsbahn* has been able to stabilise fares and freight rates to the great benefit of the nation as a whole.

It considers the third class passenger fare of 4 pfennigs per kilometre too high and desires a reduction. The financial position and the requirements of the Reich government do not allow of such a step being taken at present, so that the *Reichsbahn* has had to restrict its policy in this direction to the grant of special facilities. The nature of these facilities is determined by considerations derived from the governmental policy with regard to cultural matters and population increase as an essential aspect of the general policy of national integration.

The *Reichsbahn* is putting forth every effort to bring its equipment up to the latest standard of technical achievement. It has continued to develop the construction of steam locomotives: the latest stream-lined locomotive achieved during test runs a speed of over 125 miles an hour with a trainload of 300 tons (see Picts. 140–141).

At the same time, the *Reichsbahn* is proceeding with the electrification of big stretches of line. Combustion engines are being employed in railway traffic in keeping with their rapid technical development. Stream-lined cars fitted with high-powered Diesel engines are being used for express communications and help to cut down the time interval between the connections. The latest with their three separate compartments attain a speed of 205 kilometres an hour.

To the well-established express stream-lined car connections Berlin–Hamburg, Berlin–Cologne, Frankfurt-on-Main–Berlin and Cologne–Altona, have, of recent years, been added the connections Munich–Nuremberg–Berlin, Stuttgart–Nuremberg–Berlin and Beuthen–Breslau–Berlin. The first three-compartment stream-lined cars of the type "Leipzig" have been put in service for the first time on the last-mentioned stretch. Unlike the "Hamburg" type of car, which has only first and second class, the "Leipzig" type has a third class compartment (see Picts. 139–142).

The early part of October 1936 saw the ceremonial opening of the Stralsund–Rügen Dam, which effects a substantial improvement in the railway connections between Scandinavia and Central Europe. It was an event of great moment for the future of the German railways.

Extensive improvements in all other domains such as in the construction of the railway track, in the signal and safety system, in carriage construction and equipment, and so forth have been carried out to meet the demand of the travelling public for a maximum degree of safety, punctuality and comfort. It can be said without exaggeration that the German railways are, in a technical sense, among the best in the world.

"Motorisation"

Adolf Hitler gave out this slogan at the opening on February 11th, 1933 only a few days after his accession to power, of the first Automobile Show in the New Germany The idea had been set up by the Fuhrer long before this as an integral part of his total programme Then, a little later, the Fuhrer was able to announce to the monster nocturnal May Day gathering assembled on the Tempelhofer Feld that a beginning would be made in translating this pro ject into reality

In this way the revival of the German automobile industry and the construc tion of the gigantic system of motorway became two paramount objectives of the first Four Years Plan It is a programme at long sight, born of the clear knowledge of the nature and future possibilities of automobile transport At the same time, it creates the possibility of combatting unemployment by ener gizing the automobile industry and by putting thousands of men to work on big road construction projects This is one of the reasons why the construction of the Reich motorways has been taken up with so much energy and determ ination

The German Motorways Project

The Law of June 27th, 1933, appointed Dr Fritz Todt plenipotentiary In spector-General for the German Roadways, and made him, as such, directly subordinate to Chancellor Hitler who has himself taken over ministerial respon sibility for this domain[1]

The German Motorways Company *(Reichsautobahnen)*, with a capital of 50 million marks, was founded at the same time as a subsidiary of the German Railways *(Reichsbahn)*, The German government justified this piece of legis lation by stating

"Control over the German Motorways is reposed in the hands of the German Railway Company on the assumption that the conflict between road and rail can be settled only by placing the entire long distance goods traffic under a centralised control The present piece of legislation constitutes an important step in this direction In order to insure a sound financial development, the undertaking is founded as an independent body with recognised rights and duties, except that for the above mentioned reasons, the German Railway Company shall take over its administration and representation"

Germany owned about 300,000 kilometres of constructed roadways of which approximately 100 000 kilometres possessed major importance as transit routes Something like 25,000 kilometres were regarded as main traffic highways This network of roads, which had been built originally for other means of trans port than automobiles had to be gradually adapted to automobile traffic This

[1] Dr Fritz Todt was born at Pforzheim in Baden in 1891 He is one of the veterans of the National Socialist Party Prior to being appointed to his present post he was the technical director of a big road building company Hence his intimate acquaintance with all local features and national aspects of the German road system

is a matter which cannot be carried out to the full extent. The rural roads have to be supplemented by a network of big traffic arteries capable of dealing with long-distance motor transportation

According to the law to which we have already alluded, the motorways are public highways to be used exclusively for general automobile transport and travel The German Motorways Company owns the exclusive right to construct and maintain the motorways and is under the direct control of the German government. The Inspector-General is responsible for the layout and appearance of the motorways He is responsible for drawing up the construction plans which he generally does after first consulting the local authorities The German Motorways Company has the right to levy a toll for the use of the motorways.

Quite apart from the above-mentioned foundation capital of 50 million marks, the financing of the building projects occurs by the German government directly. In this connection, it deserves to be borne in mind that about 35% of the total cost is covered by the money saved on the total of unemployment relief and from 25–30% by the additional revenue from taxation resulting from the industrial revival. Moreover, the German Motorways Company is empowered to borrow funds with the sanction of the German government and the German Railway Company.

The Roads of Adolf Hitler

The original plan was that the network of motorways totalling about 7,000 kilometres in length should form the main arteries of German automobile transport when the seven year building plan has been completed Rural roads and towns in all parts of the Reich were to be linked up with this network But at the end of December 1937, the Führer announced that the network would be given additional intersecting lines bringing the total length in excess of the 10,000 kilometres originally planned by as much as 2,000 kilometres, exclusive of the 1,100 kilometres comprised in the first programme of Austrian re-construction

The motorways are not being constructed according to a uniform plan, since each section is being adjusted to local geographical conditions The main routes are 24 metres in width, divided into two 7 50 metre wide carriage ways sepa rated from each other by a paved central strip measuring 5 metres across. While in the Lowland areas the incline rarely exceeds 3–4/100, there are stretches in the Highland regions where it amounts to upwards of 7/100 Likewise the curvature varies from 2,000 metres in the Lowland areas to as much as 400 metres and less in the mountainous regions When getting out the general design the greatest care is taken to insure that the lines fit in well with the contours of the landscape (see Picts 143, 144)

To what vast extent recourse had to be taken to the marshalling of productive forces for the solution of this task is indicated in the sums spent on this project since the year 1933 Upwards of 2 1 milliard marks have been expended on the construction of the motorways down to the end of the business year 1937. At the same time, increased sums of money have been spent on the improvement of other road systems throughout Germany. By September 1936, the first 1,000 kilo-

metres of motorways were thrown open to the public This happened on the third anniversary of the day when the Fuhrer performed the ceremony of turning the first sod By December 1937, 2,000 kilometres of motorways were open to traffic The position at the beginning of 1938 was 2,014 kilometres open to traffic, 1,623 kilometres under construction, 1,931 kilometres sanctioned for construction and 1,332 kilometres planned The map on pages 280—281 shows the progress made in construction up to August 1st, 1938

Nearly 115,000 workers are directly employed on the project which, according to trustworthy estimate has indirectly, through the impetus it has given to the building material industry, building machine industry and foodstuff and clothing industries, provided work for half a million persons The amount of earth and rock removed in the process of construction has reached something like 250 million cubic metres At the peak of construction in the year 1937, the project as a whole was necessitating the employment of about 3,250 building locomotives, 60 000 trolleys and hundreds of building machines of all descriptions Upwards of 3,900 kilometres of trolley lines were also laid down and in use

In order to guarantee the carrying out of the programme of motorway construction, which foresees the completion of 1,000 kilometres annually, it was decided to raise the benzine and benzol duties by four marks and the mineral equalisation tax by five marks In addition, a so called Tara levy was imposed which had the effect of increasing the price of petrol in Germany by three pfennigs or 9% per litre There was also a corresponding adjustment of the gasoline duties

In this way, the German Ministry for Finance succeeded in getting all automobile and lorry owners in Germany to help finance the motorways project whilst pointing out at the same time the saving of petrol (roughly 15%) effected by car and lorry owners in making use of the motorways No tolls are charged for the use of the motorways although this provides another method of helping to finance the project It must be borne in mind that cars using the motorways suffer much less wear and tear as it is possible to drive hundreds of kilometres on the smooth surface without employing the brakes or even changing gear

Roadways help to promote international tourist traffic which Germany needs to improve its foreign trade balance Certain obstacles to the development of autocar and automobile travel have been done away with and tourists visiting Germany are able to enjoy all the modern amenities of travel Apart from this, the new motorways acquire importance from the viewpoint of national defence

To be sure, the expenditure on the construction of roads and motorways entails burdens which have in part to be borne by the owners of automobiles The increase in the import duties on motor fuels to which recourse had to be had in 1936 and the imposition of a freight tax in respect of long distance road transportation and of autocar tax were designed as means for financing the construction and maintenance of the motorways Motor transport has come to play such an extensive part in the life of the country that it is able to bear these burdens without ill effect upon the sales of the motorcar industry The com

pletion of 1,000 kilometres of motorways has naturally called for the establishment of a vast number of roadside amenities such as, for example, the erection of hotels. Preliminary work in this direction has been under way for some considerable time. A motorway hotel park, for instance, has already been erected in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg from designs drawn up by Professor March, the architect of the Reich Sports Field in Berlin. Another motorway hotel and restaurant establishment, having its own bathing beach, has come into existence on the shores of Lake Chiem. Furthermore, work has commenced on the construction of about fifty petrol stations and a whole series of practical innovations for facilitating transport and travel.

Other countries are beginning to evince a profound interest in the German motorways. German engineers have noted with satisfaction that a number of European countries are taking a practical interest in this pacific venture which Germany has engaged upon with the construction of the motorways. Consultations have taken place between Germany and Italy with the object of linking up their networks of motorways. Present plans foresee the achievement of this by the year 1941. Denmark is contemplating big road development schemes with a view to linking up its roadway system with that of Germany. Negotiations have been opened with Holland with the object of determining at which points the main arterial roads will be carried across the frontier. Parisian road experts have adopted the term "Autostrad" (motorway) to describe the new big arterial roads leading from the French capital, whilst in Belgium all the latest road building projects are being modelled on the German motorway system. These facts were disclosed by Dr. Todt, Director-General of the German Motorways, in an article to the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*. He concluded this article with the remark: "We trust that this technical achievement will be regarded as proof of our desire and ability to contribute our part towards the promotion of peace and sincere international cooperation."

Energizing the Automobile Industry

Simultaneous with the construction of the motorways, the German government has inaugurated, mainly through taxation measures, the large-scale revival of the automobile industry.

As early as April 1933, all new cars and motor bicycles purchased for private use were exempted from the Motorcar Tax. Then, a little later, the owners of cars purchased prior to the above date were granted the privilege of paying off this tax in a single lump sum. Subsequently, considerable tax remissions were allowed on the purchase of motorcar accessories by trade owners of cars. According to the 1934 provisions of the Income Tax Law, no income tax, corporative tax or industrial tax will be levied on automobiles which have been purchased for business, trade or professional purposes provided their owners keep regular accounts of their affairs. The amount saved by car owners in consequence of these provisions is in some cases as much as 70% of the purchase price of the car.

These fiscal measures were accompanied by an effective publicity campaign The Automobile Show was made more and more into an event designed to attract the general public The State began to patronise motor racing sport with the result that Germany was able to claim a long series of outstanding victories in international racing events The major impetus, however, was given by the Motor Corps of the Nationalist Socialist Party (NSKK) which built up a big organisation of persons trained in the handling of motorcars and motor bicycles The general industrial revival also largely stimulated motorcar production

A rising curve of automobile sales is just one of the things which characterise the first years of the National Socialist regime Annual sales of private cars now exceeds 220,000, while those of motor bicycles have reached the astounding figure of 235 000 From the summer of 1932 to the early part of 1938, the number of private cars in use in Germany rose from 1 63 million to 2 85 million, that is, an addition since the advent of the National Socialist regime of 1 22 million Germany has now more car owners than either Great Britain or France According to the latest computations, there are 2 85 million car and motor cycle owners in Germany as against 2 3 million in Great Britain and 2 2 million in France Actually, there are fewer motorcar owners in Germany than in Great Britain or France, and far more owners of motor cycles, whilst it must also be taken into consideration that Germany, exclusive of Austria, has a population of 68 million compared with Great Britain's 47 million and France's 42 million

The growth of automobile traffic in Germany is plainly shown by the following figures —

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Automobile production (in million marks)	388	660	972	1073	1265
Private cars (in thousands)	92 6	147 3	201 4	240 3	263 7
Lorries and delivery cars (in thousands)	12 4	25 4	38 9	55 6	59 1
New automobiles purchased (in thousands) —					
Private cars	82 0	130 9	180 2	213 2	216 5
Lorries, delivery cars, omnibuses	11 6	23 5	33 8	45 9	45 2
Motor bicycles	57 8	89 6	102 8	125 1	141 6
Tractors, incl caterpiller tractors	—	—	6 6	8 9	11 0
Export (in million marks)	32 9	32 8	54 1	81 8	142 1

The share of the leading German automobile manufacturing firms in the total of 216 538 private car sales concluded in the year 1937 was as follows Opel 75 308, Auto Union 54,765, Daimler Benz 23,679, Adler 17,177, Ford 16,141, Hanomag 8 411, BMW 6,828, Hansa 5,486, Stoewer 913 and Maybach 179 The corresponding figures for motor lorry sales concluded in the same year are Opel 15,766, Ford 7,262, Hansa Lloyd 4,347, Daimler Benz 4,123, Büssing NAG 2,293, Magirus 1,519, Krupp 1,269, MAN 866 Phanomen 737, Henschel 488

Remarkable progress has been achieved in Germany in automobile design and construction, especially with regard to the development of the Diesel engine and the mass production of the "people's car." The latter is receiving the greatest encouragement from the Führer. Actually, Germany is turning out each year better and cheaper cars. Prices fell an average of 10% between 1932 and 1936, and in the autumn of 1936 the prices of the more popular models underwent a further reduction of from 6 to 14%.

The motorisation will continue to be expedited as the result of measures taken within the framework of the second Four Years Plan: "The automobile has become a part of our industrial life and must continue to be regarded as such." This dictum uttered by Dr. Julius Dorpmüller, Minister for Transport and Director-General of the German Railways, very ably describes the standpoint adopted by the German government in this matter.

The People's Car

On May 26th, 1938, in Fallersleben on the Mittelland Kanal, the Führer laid the foundation stone of the big factory where, at the instigation of the Strength Through Joy Movement, a start will be made with the construction of the People's Car. The project foresees, apart from the erection of the factory buildings, the construction of a special harbour on the Mittelland Kanal and the laying out of a new town which when completed will include 28 existing communes. The town will have a population, to begin with, of 30,000 inhabitants, increasing later on to 60,000. (At present, Fallersleben has a population of 2,500).

After Dr. Ley had greeted the Führer as the sole patron of the People's Car and thanked Dr. Porsche, the inventor, a report on the work already accomplished was read by Dr. Lafferenz. He revealed that, following the foundation of a company for furthering the production of the people's car, a grant of fifty million marks had been obtained for the purpose of taking immediate measures. A preliminary series of thirty people's cars had been constructed from designs drawn up by Dr. Porsche. These cars had undergone severe tests and had proved their worth in every respect so that a start could straightaway be made on their mass production.

The People's Car will be produced in three models, as an open car, limousine and cabrio-limousine. Equipped with floating axles, it has a length of 4.20 metres, stands 1.55 metres high and is 1.55 metres in width. It weighs 650 kilogrammes. It has seating accommodation for 4 or 5 persons. The engine developing 24 h.p. is mounted at the rear and has a normal consumption of from six to seven litres of petrol and one-tenth litre oil for the hundred kilometres. It has a steady maximum speed of one hundred kilometres an hour. The price is 990 marks delivered at the factory. A novel system by which intending purchasers may both save up the money needed to buy the car as well as to pay for its insurance has been introduced. The minimum instalment rate has been fixed, at the completion of the first six months, at five marks a week for the car itself and about one mark a week for the insurance.

In his address, the Fuhrer said that he had always looked upon the problem of motorisation as providing a means of combating unemployment Prior to his accession to power, Germany with an annual production of 46,000 cars, was lagging far behind other countries The first step in the direction of motorisation was the abandonment of the hitherto prevailing view that the motorcar was an article of luxury The German people was in need of from six to seven million cars The decisive factor was to bring the purchase and upkeep costs in accord with the income of the average citizen The motorcar would have to become a popular means of transport and then it would cease to be something which threatened to divide the nation into classes

If the German people took to spending for instance all they earned on the purchase of foodstuffs this would lead to a national catastrophe For this reason, it was imperative to guide the purchasing power of the people into other channels This aim will also be served by the People's Car, which will provide a field of investment for hundreds of million marks annually

Notwithstanding this vast development, the People's Car will not constitute a serious competition to the other makes of cars, as it will be sold to the broad masses who otherwise would not buy a car at all It has been created to give joy to the broad masses of the people and for this reason it will be called the "*KdF* Car" (Strength through Joy Car) At the same time, its construction means the creation of a model German working town

Tourist Traffic

The National Socialist régime was quick to recognise the importance of tourist traffic, and immediately set about the task of reorganising the entire tourist industry

The Law of June 23rd, 1933 relating to the "Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic" created an organisation for coordinating under the direct guidance of Dr Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, the activities of all authorities, associations and travel concerns engaged in the promotion of tourist traffic It set up, in fact, a common front, headed by the Reich Foreign Travel Association, which is a federation of 24 provincial travel associations each of which is composed for the most part of inland and seaside resorts and spas The publicity work is carried out by these municipal bodies which are thus able to make use of the services of the travel associations, tourist offices, spa administrations and similar bodies The president of the Reich Foreign Travel Association is Hermann Esser, former member of the Bavarian government, who had already gained a high reputation as an ardent promoter of tourist traffic The Association was converted into a public corporation by virtue of a government enactment of March 26th, 1936, and is now the competent authority in Germany for dealing with all matters relating to tourist traffic

The German Railways naturally play an outstanding role in the Reich Committee and have taken over the tourist publicity conducted within Germany as well as abroad This mission has been entrusted to the care of the German

Railways' Tourist Department which seeks with the aid of all modern means of publicity to encourage the foreign travelling public to visit Germany It has set up its own tourist information offices in all the principal countries Incidentally, it was entrusted with the task of carrying out the publicity side of the last Olympic Games and did so with rare distinction Some idea of the extent of its general task may be gathered from the fact that the number of folders and leaflets, and other forms of publicity literature, distributed abroad by the German Railways' Tourist Department during the last few years runs into millions

This well conducted publicity has certainly been very fruitful of results Since the year 1932 Germany has been steadily growing in favour with the travelling public The German hotel industry reports, for instance, that taking the room occupied for twenty-four hours as a unit, the annual total had soared from 49 million in the year 1932 to 72 million in 1936 That represents an increase of 47% The annual total of hotel guests likewise increased from 14 million in 1932 to 19 million Still more encouraging is the steady rise in the stream of foreign tourists The nightly stay over figure in this case jumped from 2 7 million in 1932 to 6 6 million in 1936, representing an increase of 144% The number of foreign visitors to Germany rose from 1 1 million to 2 1 million, or almost twice as many These figures disclose the fact that the general tendency is for foreign visitors to extend their sojourn in Germany The average length of stay in the year 1936 was almost 38% longer than in the year 1932

Some conception of the organisational capabilities of the German travel and tourist administration may be gathered from the fact that, during the Olympic Games, for instance, it made arrangements for putting on 2,159 extra trains to convey in the matter of a few days upwards of 1 2 million persons to Berlin and back again, and that the Berlin Municipal Railway dealt in the two weeks the Games lasted with a monster rush of 28 4 million passengers

The annual Party Congress in Nuremberg makes great demands upon the organisational ability of the German Railways In the year 1936, about 1,200 extra trains were put in service to convey the million persons who attended the big event in that year It necessitated the rebuilding of several railway stations in the immediate vicinity of Nuremberg Tasks of a similar character had to be carried out in connection with other monster gatherings, such as the Harvest Festival on the Buckeberg Extra trains to the number of 450 were used in 1936 to convey the masses to and from the ceremony within the matter of a few hours

The total number of passengers conveyed on the German Railways in the year 1935 amounted to 1 5 milliard as compared with 1 2 milliard in the year 1933 By way of generous reduction in fares—foreign travellers in Germany are allowed, for instance, a 40% reduction on the ordinary fare if the ticket is purchased abroad—passenger traffic was increased to such an extent that the proceeds from this source alone rose from 846 million marks in 1933 to 989 million marks in 1935, representing an increase of 17% This despite the fact that takings calculated in terms of passenger per kilometre dropped from 2 81 to

2 5 pfennigs The many new projects resulted in a considerable increase in the personnel, namely, from 593,000 in the year 1933 to 656,000

Germany is engaged in a systematic manner in improving its means of travel and communication The speed of travel on the railways has shown a steady increase during the last few years, largely due to the introduction of Diesel engined stream lined cars which, as already mentioned, are now running regularly on all the main routes Travel in Germany has long been disassociated from dis comforts of all kinds, thanks to a large extent to the Mitropa, the renowned subsidiary of the German Railways Company which has long held the monopoly of catering for passengers on saloon cars and air liners It also runs a number of leading hotels It gives accommodation each night to an average of 2,000 guests and daily caters for an average of 50,000 persons

The new "Glass Trains," whose generous length of window furnish travellers with a magnificent view of the passing landscape, have been introduced on those stretches of line that are renowned for their scenery A popular innovation are the double deck car trains on the Lubeck–Buchener Railway They run between Hamburg and Lubeck and offer a view from a "high point of vantage " This type of railway car has proved such a success that, shortly after their in troduction, further cars had to be placed in commission

Innovations and improvements are also the order of the day in the domain of air travel The German Lufthansa is employing machines of outstanding efficiency capable of reaching a speed of 220 miles an hour

Germany has every reason to be proud of its achievements in airship construction The Zeppelin oversea services will be resumed, showing that the German people will not allow the disaster to the "Hindenburg" to rob them for a moment of their confidence in airship travel

Year in year out Germany is able to offer its visitors an abundance of attractions of all kinds There is, to mention only one example, the renowned Bayreuth Festival which attracts music lovers from all parts of the world The attendance in the year 1936 was 27,000, or twice as many as in the year 1933

Exhibitions of all sorts are held in the extensive permanent exhibition grounds in Berlin and other cities, such as Hamburg, Cologne, Dresden, Munich, Düsseldorf, etc , not to mention the Leipzig Fair, which is held in the Spring and Autumn of each year and is an event of supreme significance for world trade German museums are replete with highly interesting treasures and ex hibits The famous block of museum buildings on the so called "Museum Island" in Berlin contains collections of ancient art as well as priceless samples of the achievement of ancient and classical art, German art, Christian and Byzantine art, also collections of Italian and Dutch masters Technical achievement is displayed in the German Museum in Munich, military relics in the Berlin Arm oury and the Middle Ages in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg

Sporting events of a cosmopolitan character include the race meetings at Hamburg Berlin, Munich, and Baden Baden, the international tennis tourna- ments at Hamburg, Pyrmont, Baden Baden, Berlin and at the various inland

spas and Baltic seaside resorts, and, in particular, the annual Kiel Regatta and the Yachting Week at Travemünde and Warnemünde. Each year motor racing enthusiasts from all countries foregather at the Nürburg Ring in the Eifel, near the Rhine, at the Berlin Avus and at other places in Germany where big international racing events are staged. The Bavarian Alps as a centre for winter sports are second to none. Finally, to those who travel in search of amusement and entertainment Berlin, Hamburg or Vienna can offer just as much as Paris or London, whilst lovers of display are well advised to appear at carnival time in Cologne, Düsseldorf or Mayence, or to visit the Munich Carnival.

The tourist industry in Germany has undergone an astounding revival under the National Socialist régime. Germany can stand comparison with any other country in the world in the abundance of places of interest and the excellency of its travel amenities (see Picts. 145 to 150).

Shipping

The position of German shipping remained unfavourable over a long period prior to the National Socialist revolution. Freights had touched a low level and ocean liners were running at a dead loss. Moreover, the pressure exerted by the foreign exchange policy of the Anglo-Saxon countries on the development of the freight rates and passenger fares, which were calculated on a gold basis, resulted in a falling off in the takings of the German shipping companies down to the year 1934. It was not until the year 1935 that a definite change for the better occurred. The net revenue of the shipping companies rose from 426 million marks in the year 1934 to 454 million marks in the year 1935.

On January 1st, 1937, the German mercantile fleet comprised 3,579 sea-going vessels of 3,887,000 gross tonnage. As the subjoined table shows, it was not until the year 1937 that German shipping showed signs of having at last surmounted the crisis. The number of sea-going vessels with a gross capacity of upwards of 50 cubic metres was (in 1,000 register tons):

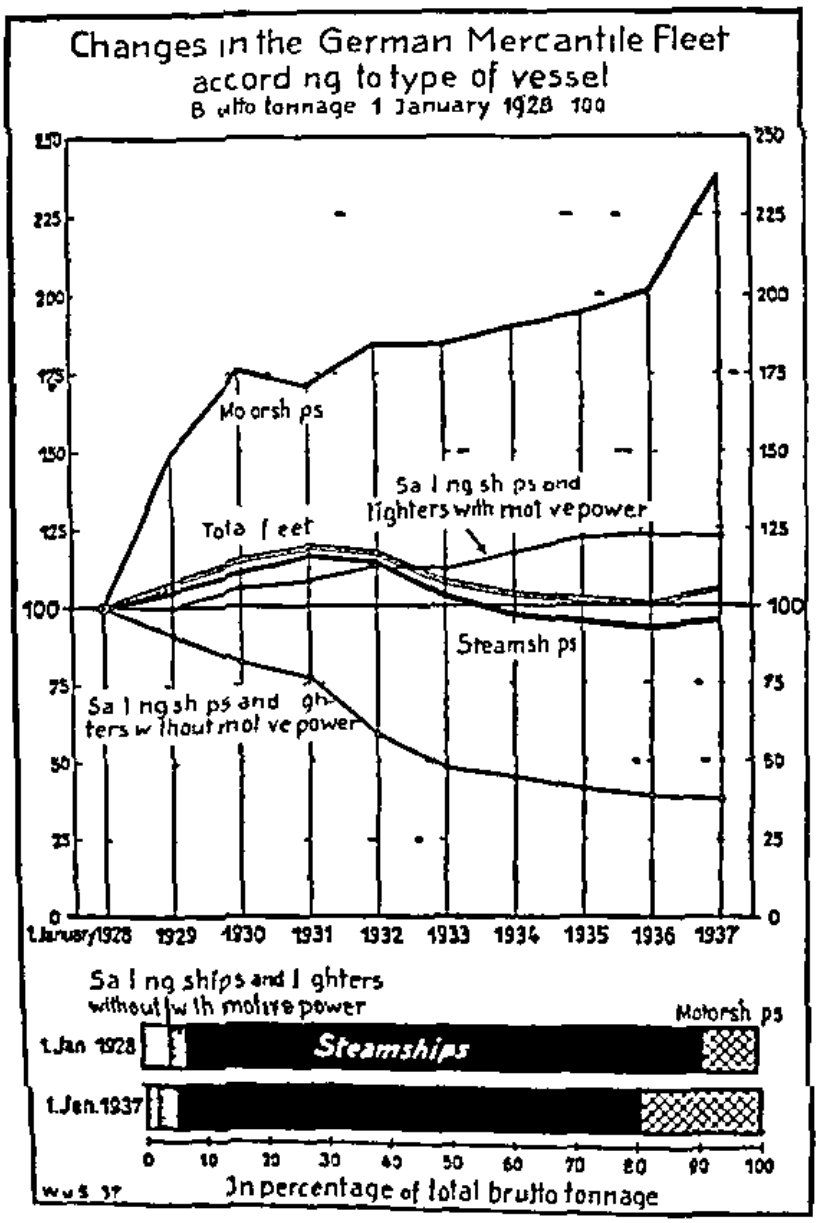
on January 1st, 1914	5,239	on January 1st, 1933	3,957
1920[1]	320	1934	3,808
1924	3,008	1935	3,737
1931	4,364	1936	3,705
1932	4,318	1937	3,887

The world trade depression had put an end to the post-war task of rehabilitating German shipping. Definite progress had been made in this task until about the end of 1930, when a setback resulted in the decrease of German mercantile shipping tonnage by upwards of 400,000 registered tons. Although the German shipbuilding yards had started to get busy again in 1934, not until the year 1936 was Germany able to announce a substantial increase in its mercantile fleet. The number of sea-going vessels at the beginning of 1937 showed an increase on the previous year of 62 vessels, representing 182,000 register tons in all.

[1] Following the surrender of ships and in consequence of war losses.

Meanwhile, the German mercantile fleet has grown to what it was in the year 1934 It is now steadily approaching the pre war figure

Of the 107 new ships placed in service in the year 1936, two of a combined tonnage of 10,858 registered tons were built abroad, whilst 59 were merchant ships totalling 168,000 reg tons, and 43 fishing trawlers totalling 13,000 reg tons



The two biggest vessels placed in service were the motor tankers "Friedrich Brehme" and "Paul Harnett," each of 10 400 tons, belonging to the German-American Petroleum Company, and the two motorships "Ehrenfels" and "Reichenfels," each of 7,750 tons, belonging to the Hansa Shipping Company The number of actual merchantmen (freighters and passenger steamers) increased in the year 1936 by 23 vessels, which raised the total tonnage by 143,000 registered tons to 3,68 million registered tons At the same time, the fishing fleet was increased by 33 trawlers and 23 000 registered tons (inclusive of the 12,000 ton whaler "Jan Wellem") to 150,000 registered tons

A visit to any of the big German seaports in the year 1932 would have sufficed to give ample proof of the frightful shipping slump prevailing at that time Ship's tonnage lying idle in January 1933 comprised 303 ships totalling 917,818 registered tons These figures had fallen a year later to 149 ships totalling 522,833 registered tons A further improvement in the situation was revealed by the figures for January 1st, 1935, namely, 62 ships totalling 311,895 tons, whilst on January 1st, 1937, all that remained of the big fleet of idle shipping was a total of 25 ships representing 57,637 registered tons The number of unemployed seamen showed a parallel development from 11,216 in 1933 to 8,697 at the beginning of 1934, to 6,318 at the beginning of 1935, to 5,593 on January 1st, 1936 and to 4,886 on January 1st, 1937 It deserves to be remarked that the extent of idle shipping invariably undergoes a temporary increase during the latter part of December and first half of January In July, 1936, for instance, there were only 13 ships, totalling 42,235 tons, lying idle in German seaports and the number of unemployed seamen had been reduced to 2,115 The annual payroll had grown from 88 million marks in 1933 to 98 million marks in 1934 and to 104 million marks in 1935

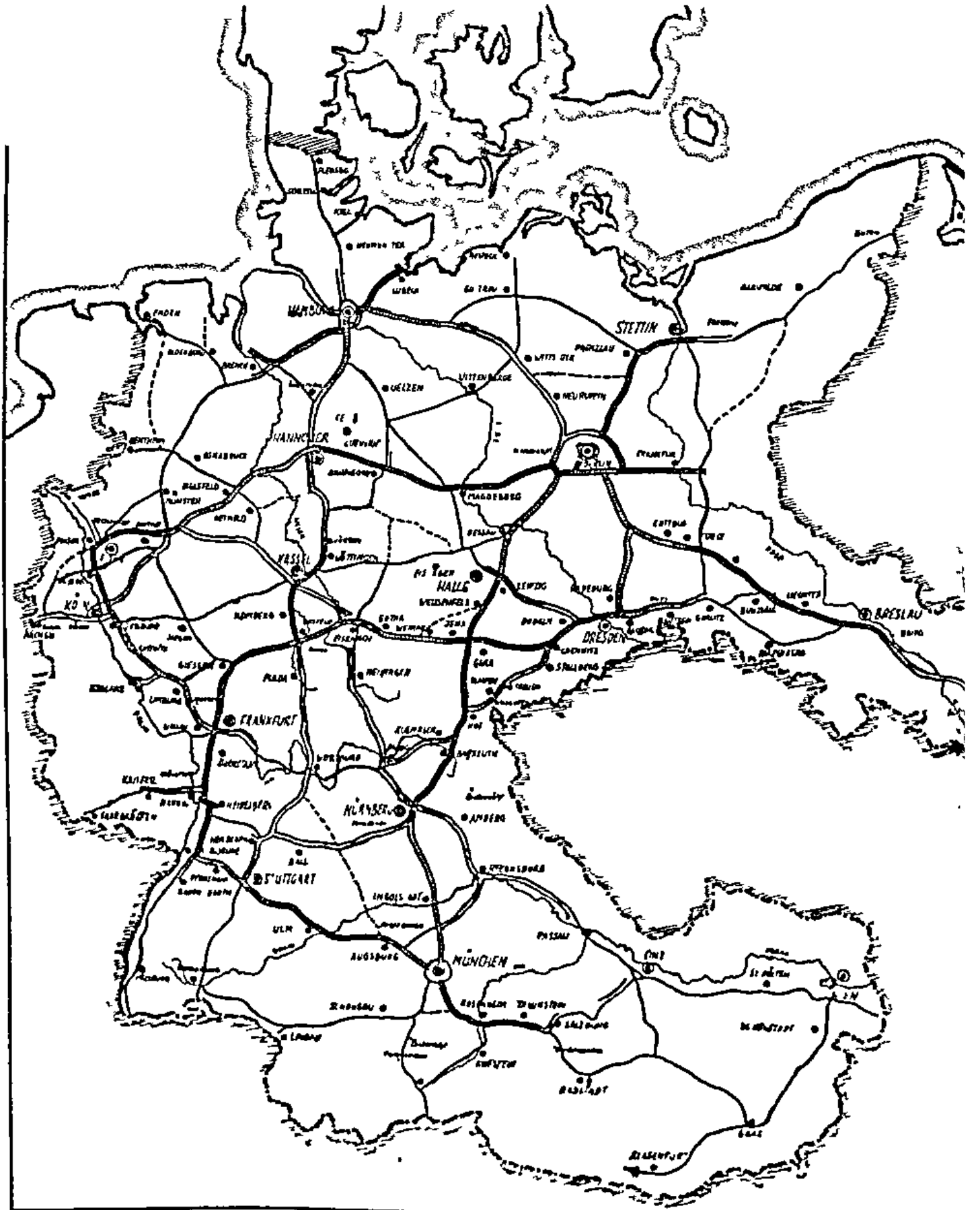
Ship building showed a still more marked recovery In the year 1933 there were in all 42 ships (137,391 reg tons) under construction, of which 34 had been ordered by German firms and 15 were for delivery abroad These figures had increased in 1934 to 98 ships (257,696 reg tons), of which 84 were additions to Germany's mercantile fleet and 14 for delivery abroad In 1935, the figure had risen to 197 ships (616,384 reg tons), 123 German and 74 foreign, and in 1936 to as many as 349 ships (1,095,821 reg tons) of which 228 were German and 121 foreign

The asset side of German shipping has likewise shown an increase It has improved the national revenue by 213 and 219 million marks in the years 1933 and 1934 and then by as much as 232 million marks in the year 1935

The economic position of the German shipping companies underwent a further improvement in the year 1936 The joint assets have risen from 213 million marks in the year 1933 to 303 million marks The revenue from freight shipping has grown from 321 million marks to 410 million marks

Recently, various statements have been forthcoming from prominent personages in the German shipping world in explanation of the policy that has been adopted for giving a new impetus to German shipping Herr Essberger, director of the Shipping Department of the Reich Federation of the Traffic Industry, has described the complete rehabilitation of the German mercantile fleet as the immediate goal of German shipping, whereby he expressed the demand that German shipping should recover the position occupied prior to the World War (5,4 million registered tons, which constituted at that time 11 3% of the world's mercantile fleet)

The goal is therefore set very high when it is borne in mind that foreign trade conditions have undergone an incisive change compared with the pre-war period But the change over from free trade to a state-controlled economy has


HANNOVER
STETTIN
MAGDEBURG
HALLE
DRESDEN
BRESLAU
FRANKFURT
NÜRNBERG
STUTTGART
MÜNCHEN

undoubtedly had the effect of greatly increasing the importance of the role played by shipping in the development of the national economy Within the framework of the new Four Years Plan, this role appears as an endeavour to obtain additional supplies of foreign money as well as to avoid the necessity of German travellers and shippers paying in foreign money by affording them increasing possibilities of using German ships

This is something not easy of attainment The leader of German ocean-going shipping has also listed the obstacles which have to be surmounted In the first place, there is the financial problem It is still very difficult for shipping com panies to pay their own way They still require state subsidies On the other hand, the state cannot afford to make a constant habit of subsidising shipping Secondly, the enormous revival of German shipbuilding has brought it about that many shipbuilding companies are unable to accept short-term orders Shipbuilding is today undoubtedly one of the branches of industry to experience a pronounced boom, partly as a result of the national rearmament programme and partly as the result of the growing demand at home and abroad for mercantile tonnage In view of the present state of German foreign trade, it is undoubtedly very encouraging to read that the German shipbuilding yards are contributing their part by accepting orders from abroad, even though the majority of these orders are in the nature of barter deals and, on the whole, do not bring in much foreign money On the other hand, a comparison with other countries, notably with Great Britain, brings to light an essential difference in the nature of this German shipbuilding revival There has been a substantial increase in shipbuilding activity in England, mercantile as well as naval But nearly all the orders have been placed either by the government or by British shipping companies Thus, of about 930,000 tons of shipping now under construction, only some 30,000 tons represent foreign orders

Dr Hoffmann, of the Hamburg America Line, in a statement on German shipping policy with respect to new constructions, has declared that German shipping continues to be opposed to state subvention It is endeavouring, he went on to say, to rely on its own resources in all its present efforts to overcome the difficult problems with which it is confronted Prospects of achieving success in this direction have improved as a result of the re organisation, financial and otherwise, carried out during the last two years The first problem it had to face was the question of new constructions A start has already been made in this direction in order to meet the immediate requirements But the entire problem of an extension of Germany's mercantile fleet will be approached in the light of sound economic principles Germany does not intend to allow itself to be motivated by imaginary prestige reasons to build so called wonder ships, but will turn out vessels whose size and speed are solely determined by economic considerations and which will be put in service on those routes where there is an existing need for further extensions The final objective is a fleet of high quality ships operating a network of routes most likely to serve the interests of German foreign trade and oversea travel

These principles of a systematic policy of reconstruction are essentially healthy

and are bound to work out to the benefit of German shipping and national economy It merely testifies to a wrong conception of German efficiency in the conduct of its affairs when expectations of a German challenge to the big prestige constructions of the French and British ("Normandie," "Queen Mary," "Queen Elizabeth") are still being nourished To be sure, Germany took a decisive step in this direction in the post war period with the construction of the "*Bremen*" and "Europa," and with which it regained its position in the Atlantic

But these two liners were built by the North German Lloyd without state subsidies or loans, and their size and speed were such as to make it possible for them to be run at a profit Actually, the calculations in this respect turned out to be correct It should also be borne in mind that Germany had been deprived of its entire fleet of ocean going liners, making new constructions a sheer neces sity Under such conditions, the German shipping companies resolved to have recourse to master achievements These ships are still in service and are enjoy ing a growing popularity Consequently, there is no direct need to replace the present fleet of liners by new constructions merely on grounds of prestige, as England felt obliged to do in face of the French challenge with the "Normandie " Germany has, moreover, more important national tasks awaiting fulfilment and is thus obliged to bring the building policy of its shipping companies in align ment with its general economic requirements

Civil Aviation

When, in the year 1932, during one of his propaganda flights, Adolf Hitler asked one of the directors of the German Lufthansa at the Tempelhof Airport why so few of the new triple engined Junkers Ju 52 aeroplanes had been ordered for service on the German airways, he was told that the sole reason was the lack of money Whereupon the Fuhrer replied "Just wait a bit, when we get control of things, there will be money enough for new commercial planes "

This prophecy was very soon translated into reality After the Fuhrer had, on January 30th, 1933, placed the control of the German civil aviation in the hands of his loyal comrade Hermann Göring, the way was cleared for the setting up of the German Air Ministry At that time, Goring described the Lufthansa as the core of civil aviation in Germany, because in the days of economic de pression and political dissension, despite all obstacles that had to be surmounted, it had done everything possible to launch out on the road of reconstruction which, now that flying has been allotted its rightful place in the order of things in Germany, has served as a basis for further effort

The plans and measures adopted by the Fuhrer began to show results in the space of a few months The general economic recovery brought about a rapid rise in the statistics of air transport More importance however has to be attached to the fact that, from now onwards, Germany was able to adopt an air policy of planning at long sight and to create the necessary conditions for air develop ments on a magnificent scale Some idea of the progress already achieved in this direction is conveyed by the air passenger statistics for the period 1932–1936

The returns for the year 1932 show that a total number of 71,000 persons flew in machines belonging to the German Lufthansa In 1933, this figure had risen to 100 000, in 1934 to 135,000, in 1935 to 175 000, in the Olympic Games year 1936 to as much as 232,000 and to 277,347 in the year 1937

This remarkable development was preceded by a systematic extension of the European airways Additional machines were put in service on some of the existing lines Everywhere air travel was speeded up by the employment of modern fast planes In the year 1933, the Lufthansa began to modernise its fleet of aeroplanes The old machines were scrapped and replaced by fast and spacious triple engined all metal Junker planes of the Ju 52 type, carrying at full capacity 17 passengers along with the three members of the crew, and achieving a cruising speed of from 150 to 155 miles an hour It was universally regarded as the most reliable commercial plane in operation This type of machine very soon established a predominant position on all the German air routes and was purchased by a large number of foreign commercial air companies for operating their lines

Another outstanding machine, the Heinkel He 70, which captured no less than eight international speed records in the year 1933, was placed in operation in the following year and helped to speed up services still further So called lightning services were inaugurated with this Heinkel machine, which with a crew of two and accommodation for four passengers, and with its aerodynamic design (retractable under carriage, etc) is credited with a maximum speed of over 194 miles an hour A later notable addition to Germany's fleet of passenger planes was the single engined Junker machine of the type Ju 160, with accom modation for six passengers

It was soon found, however, that these express machines were too small for practical purposes There was a demand for a new type having the speed of the "lightning planes" and the passenger accommodation of the so called medium sized machines The result was the appearance of the twin engined Junkers Ju 86 and Henkel He 111, the machines which were first placed in service in the year 1936 Both types have a crew of two and accommodation for ten passengers, both are low decked machines with retractable under carriage The *Junkers Ju 86 machines* operating on the *Luft Hansa* lines are equipped with two heavy oil engines of the design first used in the Junkers Jumo 205, whilst the Heinkel He 111 is equipped with two BMW VI engines A further speeding up of the air services within Europe has been achieved as the result of the employment of these express planes capable of an average speed of nearly 190 miles an hour (see Plcts 151, 152)

Much headway has also been made in the elimination of air risks In modern Germany, this is a matter which has been taken over by the State The meteorological and directional wireless stations have rendered possible a high degree of regularity and punctuality, and also an extension of the schedule to include express mail and special night services In the year 1932, the total stretch of air line operated by night services was approximately 1,206 miles The recon struction of Germany's civil air fleet following the accession of Adolf Hitler

to power enabled these night services to be extended to cover a total of nearly 2,000 miles of air lines. This contributed greatly to the achievements of German commercial flying. Thus, the Lufthansa company was able to increase its transport of air mail from a total of 389 tons in the year 1932, to 468 tons in 1933, 748 tons in 1934, 1,408 tons in 1935, 2,409 tons in 1936, and to 3,349 in 1937.

The steady development of civil aviation in Germany and in Europe has enabled the Lufthansa to devote a considerable amount of attention to the paramount task of establishing world air communications. It did so with full confidence of meeting with success. Preliminary work over a period of years could now be utilised as a basis for the realisation of these high aspirations. After the completion of a series of test flights on the Southern Transatlantic route in the year 1933, the Lufthansa inaugurated in February the air mail service between Germany and South America, which gave a definite lead to international civil aviation. This was the first regular transocean air service. It began as a fortnightly service and was operated by seaplanes, but with the establishment of two floating air bases in the shape of two steamers converted into civil aircraft carriers each equipped with a catapulting device, it was found possible to inaugurate a regular weekly service (see Pict. 154).

Upwards of 15 million air mail letters have been transported across the Southern Atlantic in the 300 flights made by these German machines up to Oct. 1st, 1937. Every German seaplane catapulted from one of the floating air stations has an average of from 60,000 to 70,000 air mail letters on board. This in itself testifies to the enormous economic and political value of these services which have established close links between nations separated by the wide Atlantic Ocean.

The mailbags taken on board the German aeroplane at the airport in Frankfurt-on-Main reach South America only some forty hours later. Here, part of the mail is taken over by machines in the service of the Brazilian Condor Syndicate and rushed down the coast to Buenos Aires, from thence inland across the South American continent, over the Andes at a point where they tower 18,000 to 21,000 ft above sea-level, to Santiago de Chile on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The entire stretch of 9,550 miles is covered in four days, whereby the German Lufthansa is able to claim the honour of operating the fastest transcontinental air service in the world. The average speed throughout, even taking into account the time used up by landings, is upwards of 93 miles an hour.

The powerful backing given by the German government to the German Lufthansa and to German aviation also created the possibility of tackling more imposing tasks such as the inauguration of a regular air service over the North Atlantic. Thanks in a large measure to the experience gained with the catapulted flights from the "Europa" and "Bremen" for expediting the landing of mail, with the civil aircraft base ship "Schwabenland" on the South Atlantic service, and in particular, with the flying boat Dornier Do 18 enquipped with crude-oil Junker engines, a beginning could be made in the autumn of the

year 1936 in undertaking a series of pioneer flights across the North Atlantic Two new flying boats, "Æolus" and "Zephyr," were used for this purpose They each made four flights to and from America The following year, further progress was made as a result of a series of test flights carried out by the flying boats "Nordwind" and "Ostwind " In this way, the Lufthansa can be said to have taken a definite lead in establishing regular air services across the North Atlantic[1] (see Pict 155)

In the year 1938, the German Lufthansa brought out two new types of aeroplane, the *Ju* 90 ("Der große Dessauer") and the *Focke-Wulf Condor.*

The *Ju* 90 is a machine employing such components as dual wings and variable pitch airscrews It can be used as a combined passenger and freight machine It provides comfortable room for forty passengers who are furnished with the additional comfort of an unique kind of sound proof device The entire accommodation space has a length of 10 3 metres and a width of 3 metres Built in the main of duralumin, it has an outer covering of a non-corrosive plated material The wings are designed in V form and have attached to them a special device to facilitate smooth landing The machine is equipped with four engines of total capacity of 3,360 to 5,600 h p and are credited with a cruising speed of between 325 and 400 kilometres an hour The undercarriage is in two parts and is retractable During recent trial flights the "Grosse Dessauer" attained an altitude of 7,242 metres with a load of 10,000 kilogramme and an altitude of 9,312 metres with a load of 5,000 kilogrammes Compared with the *Ju* 52, this new type of machine can carry two and half times the amount of payload, possesses a 50% greater cruising radius and an excess speed of 65 kilometres an hour

The "Condor" is a four-engined machine having room for 26 passengers apart from a crew of three and a steward It is an all metal monoplane Each engine operates separately and the machine can continue in safe flight should any two of the engines break down These four engines have an output capacity of from 550 to 870 h p each and permit of a maximum speed of 430 kilometres an hour A notable feature of the machine is the high speed attainable at high altitudes

On its first trial flight on August 1st, 1938, the "Condor" took only eleven hours to cover the 3,155 kilometre stretch from Berlin to Cairo, achieving an average speed of 360 kilometres an hour Eleven days later, it accomplished the first non stop scheduled flight Berlin to New York in 25 hours and after a brief sojourn made the return journey of 6,500 kilometres in only twenty hours, a performance which aroused the admiration of the entire world

The German Lufthansa has, moreover, induced the Dornier Works at Friedrichshafen to develop a new type of high-speed flying-boat capable of completing the 3,500 mile stretch between Lisbon and New York, a pronounced bad weather route, without an intermediary landing This demand

[1] In 1937 the Lufthansa installed the motorship ' Friesenland" as fourth aircraft base ship Whereas the "Westfalen ' and the ' Schwabenland ' were converted freight steamers, the ' Ostmark" and ' Friesenland" were specially constructed for the purpose of serving as base ships for the transatlantic air lines The ' Friesenland ' is the largest and most uptodate vessel of its kind and is employed for service in the North Atlantic, whereas the ' Ostmark" is stationed at the mouth of the Gambia River in West Africa to safeguard the air mail communications (see Pict 153).

has, in the meantime, been fulfilled by the construction of the flying boat Do 26 which combines a series of basic new ideas

The Dornier flying boat Do 26 is a four engined, V planed machine with a maximum speed of 335 kilometres an hour, a cruising speed of 310 kilometres and a flying radius of 9,000 kilometres The wing piece is constructed in three parts, the V formed central section being connected in an organic fashion with the body of the boat and carrying the two slender looking engine gondolas The ship itself has two decks and eight watertight compartments so that it could remain afloat in the event of the boat being badly damaged

All factors operating in direction of safe flight have been taken into consideration in the construction of this flying boat which, for instance, is able to keep in the air even if two of its four Junkers Jumo diesel engines break down It is possible to carry out repairs to the engines during flight A special system of engine control has been introduced and is operated from the cockpit

In view of the fact that the airworthiness of a flying boat of this sort depends largely on the nervous reserves of the crew, special attention has been given to the task of providing comfortable sleeping quarters and labour saving devices for the crew There is nothing cramped about the various cabins The pilot seats are com fortable and can be converted into a sort of deck chair The installation includes warm air heaters and a refrigerator There is a pay load space of six cubic metres, capable of taking something like 200,000 postal letters

It is quite possible that, in the near future, this Dornier Do 26 will make an attempt to break the long distance record for flying boats at present held by Dornier Do 18 with a distance of 8,400 kilometres It is designed to operate the route from Lisbon to New York, mainly as a freight machine It is therefore not the final word in flying-boats for passenger transoceanic traffic but it represents a big step forward in that direction especially in point of safety and punctuality

Equally impressive has been the growth of German civil aviation within the European network of air lines Many of the routes are now operated three and four times, instead of once as formerly, each day of the week Normally, there are six daily connections with Hamburg New lines are constantly being opened Today, Lufthansa planes are operating the lines northwards to Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Oslo, Malmö, Stockholm and Helsinki, eastwards to Riga, Kaunas, Moscow and Warsaw, southwards to Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Saloniki, Athens, Venice, Rome, Geneva, Marseilles, Burgos and Lisbon, and westwards to Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and London It is possible to leave Athens or Moscow by air in the morning and reach London on the evening of the same day Regular non stop flights of from 370 to 440 miles are no longer a rarity Every day air liners leave Berlin to fly direct to Stockholm, covering a distance of 625 miles in under four hours

The total mileage flown by German civil aeroplanes increased from 4,8 million miles in the year 1932 to 9,3 million miles in 1936, that is to say, it was doubled within four years During the same time, the number of passengers conveyed has been trebled, partly as a result of the introduction of bigger air liners and partly in consequence of the better utilisation of accom-

modation space. This growth of civil aviation in Germany bears eloquent testimony to the strength of the progressive economic recovery and, as a result of careful planning and popular enlightenment, to the spread of air-mindedness among the German people. The fact that Chancellor Hitler and many of his ministers make a regular practice of travelling by air has also contributed towards popularising air travel in Germany.

The air liner is now definitely enlisted in the service of German economic life and has in consequence become a real servant of the public. Moreover, it fulfils an important political mission when, beyond the frontiers and over distant seas, it appears as envoy of its country and herald of Germany's spirit of enterprise and talent for organisation.

XIV.

Agrarian and Food Policy

None of the changes that have occurred in renascent Germany has been more far-reaching in its effects than that undergone by the agricultural industry. In the first place, however, any attempt to estimate the value of the things achieved by National Socialism in bringing about an agricultural revival must be preceded by a survey of conditions prevailing prior to the advent of Adolf Hitler to power.

It can be said without risk of exaggeration that in the years 1929 to 1932 the German peasantry was living on the verge of ruin. Distress was stalking through the land, a burden of indebtedness of approximately 12 milliard marks was crushing the peasants out of existence. They were unable to dispose of their produce in the face of the immense flood of goods imported from abroad. Prices sank to a level that made it barely worth while for the peasant to raise new crops. The burden of interest on these enormous borrowings amounted in the year 1932 to nearly 20% of the selling value of the entire agricultural yield. Compulsory public sales of farms became the order of the day. In one year alone, no less than 17,157 farms representing a total of more than one million acres of land were disposed of in this manner. The amount of land which, as a result of forced sales, passed through the auctioneer's hands in the period 1924 to 1933 was equal to the total amount of arable land under cultivation in Thuringia. The owners of the loaned capital compelled the peasant to pawn the last cow in his byre. In his extremity, the peasant raised in desperation the flag of revolt; peasant uprisings then occured in almost all parts of Germany. Country folk migrated from the villages into the towns and big industrial centres where, however, they soon helped to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The peasantry, apparently condemned to extinction, had become a despised section of the community. The agricultural industry became incapable of supplying the nation with its essential food requirements. It had become split up into countless groups, each representing the special interests of those quarters which had seen in it a field of speculation. The one group wanted to see a rise in the price of pork and actually welcomed every fall in the price of potatoes no matter whether it meant the ruin of thousands of peasants. Another group sought to force up the price of grain regardless of the effect upon other agricultural produce. Hundreds of organisations, each seeking its own interests and the majority of them post-war creations, came forward claiming to represent the German

farming community with the inevitable result that, instead of all pulling to gether to save the agricultural industry as a whole, the German peasantry was torn and distracted by dissension within its own ranks

The stock markets dictated the prices and pocketed the gains even when it meant that the peasant had to be driven from hearth and home They speculated in food and gambled on whether the nation would have enough to live on

The deliverance of the German peasantry from this state of affairs was there fore regarded by the Fuhrer as the basis of his programme equal in importance to the abolition of unemployment The foundation of the State is the peas antry" (Hitler)

National Socialism, in fact, has always looked upon the peasantry as the basis of national life, the source at which the nation is constantly renewing its vitality It is an undisputed fact that urbanisation is nothing but a dead end Towns, especially the big ones, are abnormal growths which feed upon the countryside, seeking always to drain it of its best human stock to make up for the declining birth rate A healthy and prosperous countryside is, in fact, the first prerequisite for the growth of industry and the development of domestic and foreign trade German agriculture had therefore to be given a chance to produce sufficient to enable the nation to free itself from the necessity of purch asing food abroad and thus increasing its burden of foreign indebtedness As Walther Darre, Peasant Leader and German minister for agriculture has aptly remarked, there is no sense in talking politics at all until you have safeguarded the nation's food supply In other words, foreign policy is so much hot air unless linked up with a national agrarian policy The German peasant, it is held should be given the full right to demand a price for his produce such as will enable him to replenish his stock and re sow his fields It was realised that Germany could not go on buying foodstuffs abroad and allowing forced sales of farms and holdings, or excessive interest rates, to deplete and ruin the countryside

Agriculture, says the National Socialist Philosophy, is a vital part of the national economy Hence it would be entirely wrong to suppose that the farming community is 'out to seek its own interests" Actually, it is in the service of the nation Its duty lies in safeguarding the national food supply "A farmer," says Walther Darre, 'is he who born and bred of the soil, continues to till his land as his forebears did before him, and who looks upon his work as a duty he owes to his generation and his nation " The farming community, on the other hand, has a fully recognised claim to state protection both as regards permanency of tenure and sale of the produce The State must undertake, in the first place, to guarantee that the farm or holding (in Germany, the chief type of tenure is the *Bauernhof*, or peasant farm) shall remain permanently in the possession of the one family, handed down from father to son Furthermore, the State must undertake to protect the agricultural industry from the octopus of speculation by providing for price control

The Reich Food Estate

A foreigner seeking to understand German agrarian policy should bear in mind that Germany is enclosed in the heart of Europe, that it has a relatively intemperate climate and not very fertile soil and that it has a population density of 138 to the square kilometer. Other countries are much more favourably placed in these respects.

The three main pillars of agrarian policy in the Third Reich are the Law relating to the Food Estate, the Law relating to Hereditary Farmlands and the Market Control. In the same way as the creation of the German Labour Front united all industrial workers in one single body, the Law of September 13th, 1933, relating to the Reich Food Estate organised all German peasants and landowners in one body under the single control of the Reich Food Estate. It did away with a large number of existing agricultural organisations, drew the peasant and landowner alike out of the isolation of the single farm and country estate and regimented them for the purpose of enabling them to tackle big tasks, such as the conquest of production, to which we shall have occasion to refer later.

The law relating to the Reich Food Estate was not devised for the purpose of setting up a bureaucratic control of agriculture. In point of fact, the peasant leaders act only in an honorary capacity and still continue to work their farmlands or look after their estate. Hence there can be no strife between those who lead and those who follow; all measures that have to be taken will, in effect, hit the leaders as much as any of their followers. The Reich Food Estate, which has been declared a public corporation of legal standing is an organisation to which peasants and landowners are in duty bound to belong. It is under State control. It deserves to be pointed out, however, that it has by no means been brought into being merely for the sake of representing and promoting the interests of one particular section of the nation. Hence, it has been expanded in scope to include, apart from the agricultural industry, all those economic units which are likewise engaged on the task of furnishing the nation with its supply of food. These groups comprise those engaged in the canning and manufacture of agricultural produce and those responsible for the distribution of articles of food to the consuming public. The Reich Food Estate is therefore a body incorporating producers, manufacturers and distributors.

Supreme authority in the conduct of the affairs of the Reich Food Estate is vested in the Reich Peasant Leader, who has appointed a deputy in the person of the *Reichsobmann*. A Reich Council of Peasants has been formed to advise the Reich Peasant Leader on matters of policy. Directly under his control is a Staff Office in which the leadership tasks are planned at long sight to be handed over to the Administrative Office for examination. An inspector general is appointed to attend to the execution of special projects.

The Reich Food Estate is organised in 20 provincial peasant groups each under the direction of a provincial peasant leader assisted by a provincial inspector. The peasant groups are subdivided into district and local groups. The

local peasant leaders establish contact with the individual peasants. Furthermore, all peasant schools, agricultural training centres and veterinary establishments are under the direct control of the Reich Food Estate.

The Hereditary Farm

The Law relating to the Hereditary Farmlands came into force on October 1st, 1933. It was a piece of agrarian legislation that aroused considerable interest both in Germany and abroad. It resuscitated and gave legal standing to an ancient German custom with regard to possession and inheritance. The march of time has revealed the wisdom embodied in this ancient Germanic custom. According to the word of the law (see the chapter "Population Policy"), the National Socialist government pledges itself to preserve the peasantry as the source from which the nation derives new blood. This, it is realised can occur only as long as the ancient custom of primogeniture is likewise preserved and safeguarded. Peasant farms must not be allowed to be wrecked as the result of over-borrowing or to be split up in process of inheritance. They must remain for all time in the hands of the one family of free and independent peasants. Measures must be taken to assure a healthy breaking up of the big country estates on the ground that a large number of small and medium-sized farms, capable of existing as vital units, fairly equally distributed throughout the entire length and breadth of the country, are the best guarantee for the preservation of the healthy life of people and State.

Furthermore, it is laid down in the law relating to the hereditary farm that an agricultural or forest estate which at least provides a livelihood or is, at the most, 125 hectares in extent is entitled by law to be styled hereditary farm provided it belongs to a person capable of farming it. Only that person can designate himself peasant who claims German citizenship, is of German or kindred race and is of good character. The hereditary farm passes undivided to the legitimate heirs. Rights of coheritance are restricted to that part of the property which is not comprised in the actual farm. Direct descendants who are not designated as inheritors receive a vocational training and a start in life in keeping with the value of the farm, and if they meet with adversity through no fault of their own, they are entitled to return to the farm as a place from which to make a fresh start in life. The inheritance claim is not extinguished or restricted by death. The hereditary farm remains in principle, unsaleable and immune from financial encumbrances.

It deserves to be remarked that the Law is by no means completely rigid in character. It provides for the possibility of having, under special circumstances, even a large estate recognised as a hereditary farm. The deciding factors in this respect would be the nature of the soil and local climatic conditions as well as the length of time it has been in the possession of the one family.

It was feared in certain quarters that this law relating to the hereditary farm might lead to State protection of the inheritor as against the other members of the family. In reply to this, it only needs to be pointed out that the German

peasant owner of the hereditary farm takes over certain duties as well as rights, seeing that those members of the family who forego their claims to the farm have nevertheless a definite claim in respect of their keep, education and vocational training Younger members of the family who have started out in life on their own have a claim to an endowment or dowry

So far some 700,000 farms have been declared to be hereditary farms This must be regarded as the core of an agrarian reform in keeping with the spirit of National Socialism which, in the last analysis, aims at the formation of communities and the guidance of these communities along the path leading to national solidarity

Market Control

With the setting up of a solid peasant organisation and the establishment of the hereditary farms, a start could be made with the introduction of the principle of market control Its realisation put an end to the untenable conditions that had prevailed in the domain of price development and marketing by laying down fixed prices which are, at the same time, "equitable prices"

Whereas formerly price was determined by the free operation of the principle of supply and demand, these last two factors have now been replaced by "requirement and satisfaction" The stock exchange with its fluctuations no longer plays the role of price dictator to the farmer and consuming public alike The new German market control may be regarded as an economy which imposes duties on one and all alike and which provides for planned distribution of the available commodities It does not paralyse the initiative of the individual but, by safeguarding prices, promotes production and protects the interests of the consuming public It excludes speculation from the entire domain of national food supply without placing any impediments on such healthy competition as leads to greater efficiency

From the National Socialist point of view, market control is rendered most efficacious when the fixed price is high enough to cover both the costs of production of farm produce and of preparations for the next harvest At the same time, it should be low enough to ensure that the consumer is not imposed upon in any way but can always count on getting a fair deal The stability of prices is, in fact, a matter of decisive importance and hence every effort is made to establish for certain products fixity of price over as long a period of time as possible This applies in particular to such articles of food as bread, milk and butter which have been held on a constant price level in Germany for years

The prices of articles of vital necessity are likewise fixed, as a general rule, both for dealers and manufacturers The idea in doing so is not by any means to exclude the middleman whose rightful place in the general order of things is fully recognised, but to stamp out the possibility of certain quarters venturing on a harmful speculation in foodstuffs

Apart from solving the price problem, the market control fulfils other important tasks such as regulating the machinery of distribution and fabrication and adjusting the supply to the market demand The latter will always constitute

the main impetus to production since a guaranteed market along with fixed prices creates just that necessary stability lacking which an increasing production is not possible in the long run

The Drive for Increased Production

Following the re organisation of the peasantry, the inauguration of the hereditary farm system and the introduction of market control, it became possible to gain the full support of the agricultural industry for a campaign to increase production and thus ensure the future security of Germany

Barely a year after the accession to power the Reich Peasant Leader was already in a position to appeal to the patriotism of the rural population and to start a campaign whose aim was to get the maximum results from all agricultural effort This appeal was made in November 1934 on the occasion of the Reich Peasant Congress at Goslar The entire Propaganda machinery was enlisted in the service of this campaign which was then launched with characteristic energy Countless meetings were arranged up and down the country and the campaign was taken up in the newspapers, on the wireless and in the cinemas in order to insure a really universal response In point of fact, the German farming community responded in magnificent style and the results achieved are more than satisfactory

The acreage devoted to the production of oil producing and textile plants for instance has been increased tenfold, in the case of certain other products as much as twentyfold Germany is now entirely in a position to cover its own requirements of flax The grain yield amounted in the year 1935, despite a decrease in the total acreage made available for sowings, to 400,000 tons more than in the previous year, and in the year 1936 to about a million tons more The total stock of sheep has been increased enormously There has been a definite rise in the milk output and efforts to produce suitable fodder in order to become independent of the import of albuminous cattle foods have met with success In the year 1935, the number of food fermentizers in actual use in Bavaria was four times that of the preceding year The peasant deposits weeds and garden refuse in these special containers where it ferments and produces a food of high value Milk control has been still further extended with beneficial results on yield In Anhalt in Saxony, for instance, the number of controlled cows rose from 16 7% in the year 1932 to nearly 50% at the end of October 1936

In February 1933, the number of unemployed persons in the farming and forestry Industry was 23,049, by September 1935 this number had been reduced to 39, whilst in the summer of the same year there was already an appreciable shortage of labour In order to increase its yield, the agricultural industry had to enlist the services of a large number of auxiliary farm workers but even the supply of these auxiliary workers was found to be insufficient to meet the demand Large sums of money were spent in efforts to achieve a greater degree of national farm management, on the purchase, for instance, of fertilizers whose consumption increased by one third, of machinery, the sale of which rose in value from

80 million marks in 1932 to 240 million marks in 1935, and of such new inventions as food fermenters.

In this way, the agricultural industry has been able through the production campaign to achieve notable successes. But over and above this, it has given a strong impetus to other branches of industry, seeing that it is one of the objects of the Reich Food Estate to get the production of agricultural machinery adjusted to the present requirements and, in particular, to enable the small farmer and peasant to use machinery.

The recent exhibition arranged by the Reich Food Estate, the fourth of its kind, was held in Munich. It provided opportunity to measure the vast extent of progress achieved during the last four years. This agricultural show revealed the fact that the German agricultural industry has proceeded much further along the path of intensified production than any other country in the world. The average grain yield per acre, for instance, amounts to 8.8 double hundredweights per acre, whereas the average for France is only 6.7 double hundredweights and in the United States of America, where only the best soil is used for the grain crop, the average is no more than 3.5 double hundredweights.

It would be wrong to suppose that Germany has now completed its programme of agrarian reform. It must be admitted, however, that the new regime has managed in a relatively short space of time to take in hand the task of safeguarding the national food supply and to achieve, as Walther Darré stated in the course of an address delivered at the opening of the Agricultural Show at Munich, an 80% fulfilment of this task.

The success is primarily due to the position of importance which has been accorded to German agricultural industry within the framework of the national economy, and, in part, to the new conception of what constitutes national solidarity. Chief credit, however, must be given to the Reich Peasant Leader, who by his own personal effort succeeded in rousing a new spirit of hope throughout the German countryside and thus enabled it to throw itself willingly into the arduous task of achieving a maximum of agricultural intensification.

Incidentally, the cooperation of German housewives has likewise been enlisted in this drive for a maximum production, or rather, in this case, in a drive for a maximum of thrift. The anti-waste campaign has been extended to include all agricultural produce and the entire contents of the food larder. Avoidance of waste in bread alone means a saving of many shiploads of grain.

Land Settlement Projects

The National Socialist agrarian policy seeks in particular to create in thinly-populated areas a large number of new farm settlements, each of an acreage sufficient to support the life of one family. These efforts are being carried out in systematic fashion in three ways: primarily by the breaking up of big estates which have been disposed of by their owners and purchased with public funds. A special piece of legislation, the Law relating to Land Settlement, has made

it possible for approximately 4 2 million acres to pass into the possession of the German peasant population (see Picts 158, 159)

A second way is the reclamation of wasteland and moorland, particularly the latter, seeing that there is very little actual wasteland in Germany The reclamation of large tracts of moorland has been carried out with satisfactory results by enlisting the services of the Obligatory Labour Corps The total extent of Germany's arable land amounts to approximately 74 1 million acres, whilst the estimated extent of the moorlands and cultivable wasteland is 5 9 mil lion acres

It has needed a great deal of unremitting energy and perseverance to exploit the third possibility, namely, the reclamation of new land from the sea by the construction of dams As early as the year 1935, one of these projects, which resulted in the reclamation of an area nearly 3,000 acres in extent, now known as the Adolf Hitler Koog, was completed and, in the reclamation of further 1,300 acres now bearing the name Hermann Goring Koog It is planned, in a fifty year project, to recover upwards of a quarter of a million acres of land from the North Sea along the western coast of Schleswig Holstein

Sea Fishery

Germany, unlike many other nations, was slow to recognise the value of the harvest of the sea and the importance of sea fish as food

Sea fish as food enjoys a reputation which dates back to the ancient world Cato mentions that on one occasion, he saw a barbel being sold in Rome for 205 thalers At that time, fish was regarded as a delicacy for the table of the élite Emperor Domician once summoned the Senate to debate the question as to what utensil should be used to boil a huge turbot whole, and when none of adequate size was forthcoming, ordered a special one from his potter Crystal clear mountain streamlets were conducted through the dining halls of wealthy Roman citizens so that they might catch their trout by hand!

Fresh sea fish as national food, however, remained, an unfulfilled dream for inlanders until well into the 19th Century Taste of the harvest of the sea was confined to imported Norwegian haddock and cod dried hard on the rocks and suspended in the air, and this taste was popularly associated in Germany with the Lental Festival

Fifty years ago it would have been deemed a foolish venture to send a trawler to fish in the remote waters of Iceland Today the German high sea fishing in- dustry is an essential part of the national economy It undertakes to see that the supply of sea fish is sufficient to enable it to retain its place as an important factor in the feeding of the nation

In the "Nordsee" German High Sea Fishery Company, Germany possesses the biggest enterprise of its kind in the world, although in point of numbers the German fishing fleet is far below that of England The German fishing trawlers are obliged to fish in remote and perilous waters, beyond Iceland and as far north as the White Sea, because unlike the other nations of Northern

Europe engaged in the fishing industry, Germany has no fishing grounds within its own territorial waters

The National Socialist policy in respect of the national food supply has done much to promote the German fishing industry and has extended price control to include the fish market The total fish consumption in the year 1934 worked out at about 22 lb per head of the population, or one fifth of the meat consumption (106 lb per head) The progress made is apparent from the following figures whereas the total catch in the year 1933 amounted to 2 67 million double hundredweight, in the year 1936 it had reached 5 9 million and a value of 105 3 million marks

The German sea fishery is divided into four groups 1) Steam trawler fleet with approximately 350 trawlers, 2) Herring fleet with 170 vessels, 3) Coastal fishery with 1,200 vessels, and 4) High sea fishing fleet with 145 cutters, most of them with engine propulsion

Germany's fishing industry has been included in the framework of the Four Years Plan, as predicted by Field Marshal Goring in the course of the address which he delivered at Wesermünde on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the German high sea fishery He said, in fact

'The freshwater fishing industry and even the coastal fishing industry, important as they are, do not constitute the decisive factor provided by the high sea fishing industry There has been a big growth in the latter during the last four years We shall now have to start in real earnest to reach the bounds of possibility during the next four years To this end I shall see that all the necessary means are made available

Hermann Göring added that it was now the intention of the German government to further the high sea fishing industry and to build a fleet of whalers The first of these whaler expeditions has already returned to Germany from a highly successful catch in the Southern Arctic Sea Forty thousand tons of oil was its contribution to the national economy The first German sealer recently left Hamburg for the Northern waters

Meanwhile, in a nation wide campaign launched under the watchword "Fish promotes health and helps to save foreign exchange," housewives were exhorted to buy fish instead of meat Recently, students joined in this publicity campaign by organizing a "Fish Day" when all sat down to a fish dinner

Reich Self-sufficiency in the Food Question

Germany has achieved some notable successes in its effort to become independent of foreign countries in the matter of its food supply

Additional impetus to these endeavours has been given by the latest agrarian measures adopted by Field Marshal Goring in his capacity as Commissioner for the second Four Years Plan The Reich has undertaken to spend up to the year 1940 the sum of one milliard marks on the amelioration of about five million acres of land, adequate appropriations have also been made for soil improvement and for the conversion into pasture land Other important mea

sures have been adopted to increase the yield, for instance, the price of nitrate and potash fertilizers has been reduced by some 30% and 25%

The price of potatoes for manufacturing purposes has been raised from 17 to 20 pfennigs, and the price of rye has been increased from 16 to 18 marks per double hundredweight State allocations have rendered it possible for all those farms lacking in capital to take out medium termed loans, the economic supervision of the hereditary farms has now been extended to all agricultural concerns and undertakings Finally, a State loan of 1,800 marks can be obtained in respect of every farm labourer's dwelling erected within a period of six years, whilst other considerable advances can be had with respect to the purchase of machinery

One thing is certain, during the last five years the German peasant and farmer, and all persons connected in any way with the farming industry, have entirely changed their way of thinking Here lies the surety for the success of these measures Proof of this is forthcoming in the scenes of enthusiasm which are witnessed each year at the Harvest Festival on the Buckeberg, where peasants from all parts of Greater Germany assemble to ovate the Fuhrer and to hear the Peasant Leader pronounce the watchword for the year that lies ahead This big gathering, unique and impressive, can be compared in importance to the Annual Party Congress at Nuremberg It is attended by the foreign diplomatic corps and by prominent Party and State dignitaries Adolf Hitler makes use of this opportunity to keep himself in close touch with the country folk in all parts of Greater Germany It has become traditional for the Festival to conclude with a big military display which invariably evokes the utmost enthusiam

In truth, this vast concourse of one million persons dressed in their picturesque country attire presents an amazing sight when, with one accord, they raise their right arm in the direction of the high platform from which Adolf Hitler speaks to them in convincing fashion of the grandeur of the New Germany, of Peace as the necessary foundation of all creative activity and of the mission which the German peasantry is called upon to fulfil in the service of the nation As he says "The first and truest embodiment of the nation is that section of the people which draws nourishment for mankind from the fertility of the soil and whose offspring assures the future of the nation I am happy to hold a position which permits me to act on behalf of my German people I take special delight, however, in every hour when I am able to return from my work to become once again one of the people Your eyes and your regard are for me the highest earthly reward for my labour I always find on leaving you that I go away feeling immeasurably stronger than when I came" (see Pict 157)

When, after the Führer has spoken, he walks through the crowd, halting here and there to shake one of the countless hands extended towards him, the grateful enthusiasm of the huge multitude knows no bounds This Harvest Festival testifies anew each year to the close ties existing between Adolf Hitler and the peasants in their entirety It was manifested in the way in which the German peasants responded to the appeal for a greater cultivation of

flax, no less than 5,000 acres in excess of the plan, whereby the extra yield, valued at roughly 800,000 marks, was presented to the Führer as a contribution towards the cost of achieving national self-sufficiency.

Despite the success of the increased production campaign, there have been recurrent periods when Germany has experienced a shortage of meat, fats or eggs. This has been solely due, however, to the growth in the number of consumers. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that since January 1933 upwards of 6 million formerly unemployed persons have rejoined the ranks of the wage-earners apart from the absorption of 1½ million young workers. This has naturally meant a further strain upon the resources of the agricultural industry.

Finally, it deserves to be remarked that the measures adopted in respect of the German agricultural industry are devised to meet its own special requirements and are not comparable with those introduced in other countries. Thus, for instance, the Russian planned economy has nothing at all in common with the German system of market control because, in the first place, the preliminary conditions are basically different: the political and economic ideology of modern Germany has nothing whatever to do with collectivism and internationalism; on the contrary, it is nationalist and based on the principle of the community of the people.

German agriculture will continue to find its inspiration in the ancient proverb:

"Till thy field, stay by the plough,
Availeth thee the world enow."

XV

Reich Labour Service

In dealing with the measures devised for soil melioration and land reclamation, mention must be made of one of Germany's new institutions which, although brought into existence for higher considerations, has turned out to be of great significance for the farming industry We have in mind the German Labour Service

This Army of the Spade is a creation of its leader, Colonel Konstantin Hierl, one of Adolf Hitler's veterans He is one of those National Socialist statesmen combining to a high degree organisational ability with perseverance and straightforwardness To him belongs the credit of having brought about the inclusion, in the year 1928, of obligatory labour service for all as a point of the Party programme, and of having made all the requisite preparations, in the years preceding the advent of National Socialism to power, for translating the idea into reality Finally, it was he who carried out the organisation of this institution under the Hitler regime

The basic principles of the obligatory labour service were laid down in the report submitted by Colonel Hierl to the Fuhrer in the year 1930 when this problem was debated by the Party for the first time They can be summed up as follows

The Labour Service is far more than an expedient, sprung from the necessity of the moment, to combat unemployment The idea of the obligatory labour service is really the logical sequel and completion of that train of thought which led to the introduction of compulsory education and military conscription It is expected of every German that he serve his country in time of peace with his implements of labour as with arms in time of war Every German should be worker and soldier for his people

The Labour Service shall be regarded by German youth as a duty of honour carried out in the service of the nation as a whole It ought never to be looked upon in any other light, must not be allowed to supply cheap labour for private undertakings or degenerate into a venture run by the State with a view to cutting down wages The Labour Service is intended to supply the direction of the affairs of State with a labour corps designed to carry out big public works for the promotion of the economic, cultural and political interests of the nation

The educational effect on the youth enrolled in the Labour Service is apprised even higher than the material side of the work It constitutes the main goal of the Labour Service rather than a mere desirable aspect of it Actually, it is a course of training open to the entire nation Here lies the real core of the matter To deprive the Labour Service of its educational aspect, or even to shift it into the background, would be tantamount to robbing it of its soul

It is intended that Young Germany should acquire, from its own direct experiences in the Labour Service, the correct view of the ethical value of labour and the proper attitude towards the working section of the population.

Because National Socialism sets out to overcome every egotistical and materialistic attitude towards labour, that attitude which saw in labour merely a means of acquiring wealth or a saleable commodity, it has resolved that each and every young German shall, for a certain term of his life, engage in manual labour as a national duty. Because it is desired to put an end to everything in the nature of arrogant depreciation of manual work and farm labour, because it is desired to eradicate class arrogance and class antagonisms, the student shall be regimented with the young factory worker and the young farm labourer to toil side by side as comrades. Because the New Germany desires to have the designation worker borne in honour by every German, for this reason every young German shall perform for a period of time the duties of a manual worker in the service of the State.

In this way the Labour Service becomes an indispensable training school through which the nation passes on its road to a new conception of labour and to an exemplary German socialism.

In face of the mounting wave of unemployment, the Brüning government made a precipitate attempt at realising these National Socialist ideas. An emergency decree of June 1931 created a voluntary labour service which, in reality, was no more than a sort of productive unemployment relief.

This labour service was placed under the control of the German Minister of Labour who entrusted the task of its promotion to the Reich Institute for Labour Exchange and Labour Insurance. In doing so, he transferred the execution of the measures, i. e. the establishment of labour camps and of the voluntary labour service as a whole, to the labour bureaucracy.

The voluntary labour service was permitted to concern itself with the carrying out of projects financed from public funds and having a supplementary character, in other words, projects which would remain in abeyance if not financed in this way. In practice, however, permission could be obtained for carrying out all sorts of projects desired by a body responsible for the welfare of labour, for instance, by a municipality. Consequently, only a very slight portion of the labour service in those days was engaged on schemes which could really be said to contribute towards an improvement of the national economy and an increase of industrial production.

The promotion of a scheme of this kind should occur only when full surety has first been obtained that the organisation of these labour groups will not be misused for political purposes or placed in the service of subversive ideas. For instance, when the scheme was first introduced in pre-Hitlerite Germany, the labour bureaucracy had it in its power to exclude or restrict the co-operation of all those parties or associations which did not ascribe to its policy. It was because of the prevalence of this state of affairs that the National Socialist Party was compelled, before their accession to power, to organize their labour service in the form of societies with camouflaged names.

The German Labour Exchange obtained the funds required for financing the labour service from the Unemployment Insurance Fund or from the Fund for the Relief of Economic Distress In other words, only those persons in receipt of the various forms of dole could be admitted to the labour service The amount charged was two marks per head and per day of the week, and the duration of the service was fixed at twenty weeks.

Owing to the enormous army of unemployed existing at the time, the movement spread very quickly but without centralized leadership, without form and inspiration of any kind It simply remained a means of getting the workless off the streets It was a movement without any social or ethical content

This voluntary labour service of pre Hitler Germany comprised upwards of 200,000 men of whom barely 100,000 were accommodated in special labour camps The major part was employed on projects which fall outside the scope of a real labour service The result was a maze of conflicting measures.

After January 30th, 1933, Colonel Hierl was appointed Secretary of State for the Labour Service His duties were placed under the direction of the German Minister for Labour This step meant the inauguration of the centralized conduct and control of the Labour Service in Germany[1]

State Secretary Hierl, who has since been given a seat in the German cabinet, began by closing down a number of existing camps and incorporating these associations of good standing into one big organisation known as the "National Socialist Labour Service". By dissolving all connections with the bureaucracy of the Labour Exchanges and by setting up offices of their own, Hierl achieved full administrative and financial independence for his organisation

The autumn of 1933 saw the introduction of the earth-brown uniforms with their characteristic old German peasant headgear and the dirk Young labour service men don this uniform with a feeling of pride as they fully realize that in doing so they are entering into the service of their Fatherland. The present organisation is made up of 30 regions which are subdivided into service groups. Each service group is composed of from six to nine detachments according to local requirements. At the same time, grades of rank were introduced

Upon making his first inspection of the camps, Adolf Hitler recognized the great importance attaching to the labour service and he forthwith, on July 1st, 1934, appointed Hierl as Reich Commissioner for the Voluntary Labour Service and as such responsible to the German Minister of the Interior. In this way, the entire control over the Labour Service passed into the hands of Colonel Hierl.

One month later, the Labour Service took part as an independent body in the Party Congress at Nuremberg. It was the first time the new organisation had appeared before the general public Its bearing and smart appearance

[1] See the German Labour Service Annual, edited by Colonel Müller Brandenburg head of the Foreign Department and Enlightenment in the Office of the Leader of the Labour Service, with the collaboration of numerous prominent members of the Labour Service, published by Volks- und Reichsverlag, Berlin, 1936

testified to the fine spirit that has animated it from the outset It was a truly grand spectacle that presented itself when 52,000 labour service men manoeuvred into position on the Zeppelin Meadow and flashed their gleaming spades with admirable precision (see Piet 160)

In replying to a speech delivered by Colonel Hierl, the Führer made a statement which has an important bearing upon the future of the Labour Service He said on that occasion "Through your school the entire nation will have to pass The time will come when no German will be able to become grafted into the community of the people unless he has first passed through your community "

This prediction was received by the thousands of spectators with rousing applause One year later, Adolf Hitler gave his sanction to the German law *relating to the Obligatory Labour Service which made all young Germans in* honour bound to take service in the Labour Corps

Constitution, Education and Training

Every young German has, therefore, to join the Labour Corps between the time when he leaves school and the moment when he gets called up for military service The strength of the male Labour Corps must consequently correspond to the strength of the Army and is determined by the Führer At the time of writing, it amounts to 230,000 inclusive of the administrative personnel

The entire organisation is under the supreme direction of the Commander of the Labour Corps, whose headquarters are situated in Berlin Grunewald The Labour Staff is divided into eight offices 1) Service Bureau, 2) Personnel Bureau, 3) Planning Bureau, 4) Administration Office, 5) Office of Health, 6) Educational and Training Office, 7) Legal Court, 8) Press Bureau The command of the Labour Corps is placed in the hands of the 30 regional labour control bodies as well as the 13 district control bodies of the Labour Service of the female youth and the various centres for the training of leaders, instructors, experts and so forth

Selection and training of leaders is a question of vital importance for the Labour Service The Corps Leader must be more than a man fully qualified to instruct and to set a good example, he must possess a knowledge of technical matters, be a good organizer and, in general, be a combination of farmer, labourer and soldier Furthermore, he must know how to keep fit, in fact, he must himself be an adept in physical training His character must be altogether above reproach, as must also be his moral outlook on life, his sense of social justice, his sense of responsibility and his implicit trustworthiness

The Corps Leaders receive training in the various technical aspects of the service as they pass through the different grades of training centres, troop leader school, field master school, regional school and, finally, by attendance at the Reich Training Centre, in accordance with the principle that the leaders must be equally well instructed in all branches of the Labour Service regardless of their position in the organisation The form of instruction given is based on the realisation that the only safe road to a complete mastery of the subjects

Corps is engaged in the reclamation of moorland and wasteland The land is reclaimed for the erection of new farms, or where formerly arable land has deteriorated through neglect it is made productive again by having recourse to drainage, irrigation, flood protection or other works, as the case may be Some 15% of the Labour Corps is engaged on forestry work, which includes all aspects of afforestation, or on repairing rural roads in those places where they had fallen almost into disuse The remainder is employed on projects of a social character, such as the erection of land and municipal settlements, or on schemes of a cultural character, such as the construction of *Thing* amphitheatres or the excavation of prehistoric sites It is therefore apparent that, apart from serving the nation by helping to augment its food supply and by advancing its cultural activities, the Labour Corps is able to impart new life to those who serve in its ranks (see Picts 162 to 165)

River improvement schemes, embracing a total length of about 10,000 kilometres of rivers and streams, have brought vast areas of arable land the advantages of controlled irrigation Some 500,000 acres of land have been recovered or improved by drainage work of all kinds, and a further 125,000 acres by clearance, levelling and other methods of land recovery Furthermore, the construction of 8,500 kilometers of rural roads has greatly increased the productivity of outlying farms Something like 330,000 acres of tree bearing land has been made productive by afforestation or has had its value increased by soil improvement schemes of various kinds The construction of 9,000 kilometers of lumber ways have served to open up vast stretches of forestland and rendered possible their exploitation Concentrations of Labour Corps men occurred in the following regions in the Great Moorland Fen and Nogathaffkampen in East Prussia, in the frontier belt of East Pomerania, on the island of Usedom Wollin, on the coast of the North Sea between the Marne Dam and the Hindenburg Dam, in the Spree Forest, in the marshlands between the rivers Havel and Rhin, in the Sprotte Morass, in the Riesen and Iser Mountains, in Lower Silesia, in Droemling, in the Elster Luppe region, in the valley of the Weissen Elster in Saxony, in the Ostenholzer Moor near Hanover, in Emsland, in the valley of the Ems and in the Weissen Venn in Westfalia, in the valley of the Niers in Niederrhein, in Hunsrück, in the Eifel, in Westerwald, in Hessischen Ried, in the valley of the Nahe, in the lowlands of Pfinz Sallbach and Sandbach Sulzbach in Baden, in the Rhön, in the Fränkischen Jura, in the Straubing Plentinger Basin and in the Ilmgau in Bavaria (see map on page 307)

In all probability, these projects or similar ones will be continued for many decades to come It has been estimated that there are some 7½ million acres of land in Germany awaiting reclamation In addition, the yield can be increased enormously if recourse is taken to irrigation work, flood protection measures and so forth The new land would comprise a total area greater in extent than the combined area of Bavaria and Württemberg

The Labour Service is, as a general rule, not employed on road construction The huge programme of the German motorways was mainly intended to overcome unemployment and is being carried out by private concerns with, in some


KEY TO THE MARKINGS
Drainage projects
Marshland reclamation
Reclamation of Wasteland
Land reclaimed from the sea
Big scale projects of the Reich Labour Service
EMSLAND
EMS
INNERSTE
OSTENHOLZER MOOR
ALANDGEBIET
DRÖMLING
RHIN u. HAVELLUCH
ELBMARSCH LÄNDEREIEN
USEDOM u. WOLLIN
OSTPOMMERSCHER GRENZGÜRTEL
GR. MOOSBRUCH
NOGATHAFF KAMPEN
OBERBERG KREIS
WESTERWALD
RHÖN
HESSISCHES MELIORATIONSGEBIET
FRÄNKISCHER JURA
ELSTER LUPPE AUE
WEISSE ELSTER
ODER
NIEDER BARNIM
PFINZ-SAALBACH
ACHER-RENCH
STRAUBING
PFRINTINGER BECKEN
ILMMAU
DUCKELWIESEN
Great work projects
of the
Reich Labour Service

cases, state subvention To employ the Labour Service on this task would be tantamount to robbing the working population of their rightful claim to employ ment The Labour Service is not allowed to compete in this field Its real task is to train young workers and to furnish the agricultural industry with new possibilities of development

Special mention should be made of some of these tasks which the Labour Service has carried out or is in process of doing so

Emsland This region is situated on both sides of the River Ems and stretches as far as the Dutch frontier It has a total extent of about one million acres, for the most part either marsh or wasteland It is practically uninhabited territory, of which one quarter is now being reclaimed

In the years 1934/35 the German Ministry for Agriculture purchased in this region some 30 000 morgen of land for settlement purposes and entrusted the Labour Service with the task of preparing it for the future settlers The work entailed the construction of an extensive drainage system and a twentyfive kilo meter long macadam road running right through the settlement, as well as all the farm roads, the draining of 16 000 morgen and the recovery of 6,000 morgen of moorland[1]

Seeing that the project in its entirety calls for a labour supply amounting to upwards of 1,500 000 day units, it will be about eight years before the waste land is transformed into 400 fertile new settlements each of about 37 acres in extent

In a relatively short time, the Labour Service had completed the construction of 50 kilometers of road and farm tracks (3 kilometers with stone foundation), 120 kilometers of dykes and ditches, 150 acres of clearing and 100 acres of levell ing The extent of the work accomplished is illustrated by the followed details 140 railway trucks had to be used for the transport of the hut sections required for setting up the camp to accommodate 24 labour detachments (each detach ment comprising about 150 men) and a further 90 trucks for the transport of the various articles of use, roads leading to the camps had for the most part to be re constructed across stretches of bleak moorland by laying a pile found ation, it was found necessary to obtain a supply of electric power and to construct wells to overcome the water supply difficulty which is particularly acute in these moorland wastes

The Sprottebruch This bogland consists of about 60 square kilometers (roughly 24 000 morgen) of low lying country in the districts of Glogau and Sprottau in Lower Silesia, north of the dreamy little moorland town of Primkenau At one time, this bogland was an extensive wood with a swampy floor Some cataclysm of nature must have brought about the collapse of this wood and resulted in the formation of the bog The River Sprotte flows right through the bog before

[1] The method adopted is to break up the solid bed of gravel beneath the thin unfertile layer of black peat and to cover the moor with the sandy and sometimes clayey soil found beneath the gravel bed The method was first employed in Holland

joining the River Bober near Sprottau Its sluggish flow and abundance of silt may have led to the formation of the bog

The first onslaught on the Sprottebruch had been undertaken by Frederick the Great These initial attempts to convert it into arable land were discontinued after his death, however Later attempts failed to get beyond the initial stages In October 1933, a group of Labour Service men was despatched there in order to tackle the task of reclaiming this vast region The amount of work to be done is computed at about one million day units of labour, which means that the labour service detachments working there will require from 6 to 7 years to complete the project This entails the construction of roads, the regulation of the flow of water, the turning of the subsoil over the entire extent of the reclaimed *land and its conversion into arable land*

In the meantime, there has come into existence on the edge of the bog the village of Hierlshagen, named after the Reich Labour Corps Leader It consists of 50 peasant farms Additional farms, each about 80 acres in extent, are spring ing into existence with the gradual disappearence of the bog

The Schleswig Holstein Northsea Coast The biggest task of all entrusted to the Labour Service is the reclamation of land from the sea on the western coast of North Frisia It signifies a struggle with the sea, with the "glittering Hans", as the littoral folk call the North Sea

The sea has been encroaching on this coast for centuries In prehistoric times, vast stretches of fertile country interrupted by patches of sand, heath and moor, extended from the present beach line to the islands of Sylt, Amrum, Pellworm and Trieschen Numerous ditches and streams divided the markland into is lands of various sizes The subsidence of the earth's surface which did not come to a standstill until towards the end of the Bronze Age (800 B C), the tides and heavy gales have all done their part in converting this markland into the sea shallows which now stretch from the coast to the above mentioned islands Floodtide catastrophes brought about further alterations in the coastline and it was not until the advent of the 19th Century that invention and organisation were able to stem the advance of the sea Since the year 1933, the Labour Ser vice has done much to promote the planned recovery of land from the sea

A working programme for the next ten years has been set up by the authorities in the province of Schleswig Holstein It is intended to have the islands con nected with the mainland by seven new dams, one of which has already been completed The construction of numerous dykes will enable 855 families to be settled on some 30,000 acres recovered from the sea The damming up of the Eider region will rescue a further 87,500 acres of valuable land from the in jurious effects of flooding The total cost of these projects, which will entail some 13,500,000 day units of labour, is estimated at about 150 million marks Approximately 64,000 swamps will be converted into arable land, and about 20,000 acres of recovered land converted into pastureland, 45,000 acres of reclaimed land dyked in and 20,000 acres of existing markland drained and converted into first class farmland Indisputably, an enormous task

In pursuance of this plan so far 13 kilometres of dam constructions and 25 kilo

metres of dykes have been completed This has resulted in the recovery of 6,250 acres of fertile markland In the matter of the recovery of land from the sea shallows, several hundred kilometers of shrub and earth dams *(Lahmungen)* and many thousand kilometers of *Gruppen* have been laid down Two big projects achieved on this coast, to which I have already made reference in a previous chapter, have long since been completed· the Adolf Hitler Koog on the Dicksander Bay (in the southern part of the Dithmarschen) and the Hermann Göring Koog in the Tummlauer Bay (Eiderstedt) The Labour Service contributed its part to the creation of the 3,200 acre Adolf Hitler Koog by carrying out the work of drainage, levelling, soil preparation and so forth. The project has led to the creation of 54 new farms of from 25 to 75 acres in scattered settlement and several smaller farms in addition The practical success is apparent from the fact that the first year of cultivation, namely 1935, yielded 35,000 double hundredweight of oats, a quantity corresponding to the annual bread grain requirements of a town of 20,000 inhabitants

In the Hermann Göring Koog, at the time of writing 1,250,000 cubic metres of land have been shifted Ground water and influx water from the adjoining marklands were run off into the North Sea by the lock system of drainage A network of roads, ten kilometers in length, was constructed The outcome was the partition of the settlement of 1,125 acres into hereditary farms varying in size from 18 acres to 70 acres and the creation of homes for a large number of small farmers, workers and artisans

In this way, it was rendered possible for hereditary farms on rich, fertile land that two years previously had been washed by the sea, to be bequeathed by the State to healthy peasants and workers who had proved their worth in the political struggle for resurgent Germany. These settlers will thus create the foundation for new generations of healthy peasantry.

Labour Service for Female Youth

The origin and principles of the Labour Service for female youth are practically identical with those of the Labour Service for male youth "It is just as necessary for young women as for young men to be imbued with the spirit of National Socialism and to be taught how to play their part in the community, to be brought to an appreciation of comradeship and thus to a high ethical outlook on life The Labour Service of both sexes is, in its ultimate conception, something which possesses totality" (Hierl)

This totality in respect of organisation and control was still non-existent in the year 1933 However, on January 1st, 1934, the Reich Commissioner for the then voluntary labour service entrusted Frau Scholtz Klink with the control and direction of the organisation henceforth known as the "Women's Labour Service". The Reich territory was divided up among 13 provincial groups whose leaders were placed under the direct control of the Leader of the Women's Labour Service

Two views on the purport and mission of the Women's Labour Service were each seeking to gain the upperhand during the first two years of the existence

of this institution the idea on the one hand, of schooling young girls to become good housewives and mothers and to make them realise the importance of working in the service of the nation, and, on the other hand, the idea of practical instruction of the kind which imposes self responsibility and a sense of duty towards the community as a whole Experience has brought the decision, in principle, in favour of this latter conception

The six months' service assumes today the form of aid for those German women and mothers who are overburdened or incapacitated by work, provided their means are not sufficient to permit of the employment of paid helpers This opened up an enormously wide field of labour, especially in districts where new settlements have been established The work is regarded by the girls as their bounden duty and they fully realise its educational value and importance

Aid for housewives and for the mothers of big families has also proved to be absolutely necessary, not only in the new settlements, but also in the rural distress areas and in the poorer quarters of industrial towns Here, too, the Labour Service girls have been engaged to assist women in the house, in the yard and out on the field, or to take over the duties of mothers who have fallen ill, or take charge of their children in the Kindergarten belonging to the camp (see Picts 166—167)

It is a kind of labour employment, however, which is possible only if grounded in a proper manner on a camp life conducted with a full sense of responsibility and with a view to creating a comradeship out of girls drawn from all classes of society In the matter of schooling, recreation, gymnastics and so forth, as a general rule the same principles apply here as for the Labour Service of the male youth with, of course, the necessary modifications Until the middle of the year 1935, the Women's Labour Service remained financially independent of the German Labour Exchange and Unemployment Insurance which had made use of it for the purpose of absorbing unemployed girls The organisational incorporation into the Reich Labour Service under the direct control of the Reich Women Labour Leader as "Labour Service for Female Youth" occurred on April 1st, 1936 The 13 district organisations remained in existence, but the district leaders were made subordinate to the German Labour Leader whose direction resulted in many improvements being made in the camps (for 40 girls), in the methods of training and instruction The female Labour Service comprised, in the year 1937, 485 camps with 15,000 labour girls and today has reached a strength of 25,000 in 600 camps

I recently had an opportunity to visit one of these camps and was greatly impressed by everything I saw Healthy, sun burnt girls from various strata of society were brought together here to form one happy group governed by a spirit of comradeship They sang to us old German melodies and folksongs, showed us their little rooms each prettily decorated with flowers, their dining and assembly rooms, gave a performance of folk dancing in the garden, in fact, created about us such an atmosphere of youth and jollity that we found ourselves loath to take our departure

XVI.

German Youth

The youth movement, now recognised as one of the decisive factors in modern German history, came into being towards the end of the last century. It arose at a time when the world was sunk deep in a materialism which dominated life and thought. Education had reached a dead end in its increasing rigidity and was no longer inclined to grant to youth its own character and its own rights. At that time, youth was regarded merely as pliable material which had to be moulded in a manner that was guaranteed to turn out good citizens, good patriots and mere human beings capable of exercising some vocation in life. The outlook on life prevailing in those days debarred the possibility of setting up a spiritual fellowship between teachers and pupils. The young people saw in the teacher not their leader and adviser but solely a sort of state official whose task consisted in carrying through the prescribed schedule of instruction. Likewise the younger generation at the time of the turn of the century found little opportunity in the religious, social and para-military groups and organisations to develop in accordance with the dictates of their own nature, seeing that these bodies were led and governed by members of an older generation and were concerned with the sole task of imparting a one-sided education, or of drilling, in the worse sense of the word.

But the fighting spirit of a younger generation which found itself confronted with impediments of all kinds was already in the air. It got away to a flying start through the success achieved by such ardent protagonists of youth as Hermann Lietz and Dr. Gustav Wynecken. They founded the first independent educational centres to be set up in the heart of the countryside. These were the schools at Ilsenburg, Haubinda and Wickersdorf, in which the spirit of youth came at last into its own, namely, in the form of a comradeship between teacher and pupils. Almost simultaneous with, and independent of, this attempt to bring about an educational reformation occurred in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, the inauguration of another movement, namely, the "Wandervögel", which quickly spread throughout Germany and became world-renowned. A young student named Karl Fischer gathered around him in the year 1896 a number of his fellow-students to form a group of ardent, combative and altogether remarkable young men. Every Sunday, Fischer led his group out to a place called Fohlenkoppel, lying to the south of Potsdam, where there is a wide expanse of meadowland. Later the excursions went farther afield even as far as the Bohemian forests. Fischer had made a close study of the myths, manners

and customs and apparel of the ancient Germans, as well as of the history of civilisation and of the various races of mankind

These rovings into the woodlands around Berlin and the forests of Bohemia, the nocturnal camp fires on the banks of the Nuthe, the solemn discussions under the starry dome of night, the old dances and songs, formed the basis for the Wandervogel movement which, fifteen years later, at the beginning of the World War, had a following of 60,000 youths The movement spread over the whole of Germany and exerted a profound influence on the life of the younger generation and upon its attitude towards questions of national moment

Other groups, which came into being at this time, demanded reforms of the most divergent character with the result that the German youth movement as a whole was split up into numerous sects In the face of this development it was resolved to hold a general rally with the object of acquiring that unity so necessary for effective action The rally was held on the Hohe Meissner, a hill near the town of Kassel, and resulted in the formation of the "Freideutsche Jugend", a big youth movement in which the younger generation pledged itself to shape its life in accordance with its own express desire and, in all sincerity and with a sense of its own responsibility, to defend its complete independence at all costs

The World War brought confusion into the ranks of this youth movement, especially in the two years of revolutional upheaval which followed the termination of hostilities Many adherents of the "Freideutschen Bewegung", joined the ranks of the proletarian army engaged in the class struggle, whilst others enlisted in the Volunteer Corps with the object of defeating the Spartacists, realising that victory for Bolshevism would imperil the very existence of the German race An attempt made at Jena in April 1919 to affect a reconciliation and re establish unity proved abortive and brought the German youth move ment, including the Wandervögel, on the road to total dissolution

The National Socialist youth leaders of today by no means deny the important pioneer work achieved by the *Wandervogel* movement of Karl Fischer Baldur von Schirach, Youth Leader of the German Reich, writes in his book "Hitler Youth" that the youth movement of those early days had fully vindicated its right to exist Its outlook and guiding principles had created the pre requisites for the building up of the Hitler Youth, particularly, for instance, the idea of self government for youth, the challenge of youth to the accepted views of bourgois society, its determination to seek its source of inspiration in the people and in the spirit of comradeship, and so forth

All the same, the first rally on the Hohe Meissner in October 1913 did little more than impart an initial impulse What the present youth, in reading the reports on these early youth movement meetings, finds so important is the way in which the first leaders sought to give shape and form to the movement They had the courage to face the jeers of a world which blindly refused to understand, just as, one decade later, the Nationalist Socialists had to show

courage and fortitude when striving against a world of enemies in the early days of its struggle

The Hitler Youth took over and gave new content to this or that aspect of the former youth movement

"That an entire people had, in those days, been called to the colours," says Baldur von Schirach, "catholics and protestants alike, beggars and millionaries, peasants and pen men, merchants and workers, and that they all obeyed one call and felt German, nothing but German, was what put us on the march, too Titles were of no account here, nor privilege of birth, nor money bags nor anything of special note in those days when the nation was fighting for its existence And that is what we want to see, too Germany has once again a youth that does not seek for selfish gain but is prepared to sacrifice itself in the service of the community That is the idea dominating the Hitler Youth A fellowship of Germans who are asking nothing for themselves And because they ask nothing for themselves, they are able to serve their great nation to the ut most of their powers No youth with new rights, but a generation pledged to fulfil a bounden duty"

The Development of the Hitler Youth Movement

Founder of this movement was Kurt Gruber, a student who in the year 1926, from his headquarters hidden away in the cellar of a house in Plauen, set out to organise a large number of Hitler Youth groups in Saxony. Somewhat later, numerous Hitler Youth groups sprang into existence in Franken, thanks to the energy of Rudolf Engels, present leader of Hitler Youth in this province

At a time when National Socialism was engaged in a hard struggle against attempts to suppress it, Kurt Gruber set about the task of reviving the youth movement on a new basis His efforts were crowned with success The Hitler Youth following grew in proportion to the expansion of the National Socialist movement At the Reich Party Congress in 1929, Gruber was able to appear at the head of a detachment of 2,000 Hitler youths The parade of this detachment before the Fuhrer was one of the most interesting episodes of this congress

In 1926, Dr Wilhelm Tempel founded the National Socialist Students' Association which was subsequently placed under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach There had also been brought into existence at this time the National Socialist School Children's Association founded by Dr von Renteln The health of Kurt Gruber broke down under the strain of the immense work entailed and, upon his withdrawal from the command in the year 1931, the Fuhrer appointed Baldur von Schirach to the post of Reich Youth Leader of the National Socialist Party The new leader immediately developed a very lively activity with the result that the authorities were constantly seeking his arrest He was, in fact, apprehended and jailed Shortly after this, the then German Minister of the Interior, General Gröner, placed a ban on the Hitler Youth along with the Storm Troopers Hence it became necessary to carry on as a subterranean force, working without uniform or badges The Hitler Youth gained the elite of its young followers during this very period Thousands upon thousands fled from school and workshop to swear allegiance to the black banner of the Hitler Youth

Baldur von Schirach and his youthful associates were living in those days in constant peril of arrest

When Dr von Renteln was called to Party Headquarters to take over the post of reporter on economic questions, it was agreed that Schirach should also take charge of the affairs of the School Children's Association About the middle of the year 1932, following the proscription of the Hitler Youth, he conceived the daring plan of summoning the entire Hitler Youth to a rally in Potsdam He ordered them to appear on the scene in uniform A monster camp capable of accommodating 100,000 lads was erected with feverish haste The expenditure entailed was covered by the sale of special plaques In this way, the first Reich Youth Congress to be addressed by Adolf Hitler was held in the Potsdam Stadium on the night of October 1st On the following day, Adolf Hitler took the salute in a march past which lasted seven and a half hours It was a most impressive spectacle which plainly revealed that, although the Weimar Government possessed the bayonets, the National Socialist Party had already claimed possession of the hearts of German youth

The tremendous potency of this demonstration reposed, first and foremost, upon a fact to which proud reference is still made by the Hitler Youth and its Leader, namely, that the ranks were composed to a large extent of working class youth who had been won over after years of untiring effort Today the major part of the Hitler Youth is composed of young workers Even the statistics regarding the vocation of the Hitler Youth leaders reveal the fact that quite 70% of the executive positions of the National Socialist Youth Movement are occupied by young men drawn from the humblest walks of life This was the real triumph of National Socialist youth Already prior to the accession of National Socialism to power the majority of the younger generation of industrial workers in the great manufacturing centres of Western and Middle Germany had joined the ranks of the Hitler Youth The power of Marxism had been broken and, having lost its power, it had also lost its claim to represent the interests of the workers

The Hitler Youth made use of the Winter of 1932/33 to hold innumerable gatherings which yielded a rich harvest of new members On January 30th, 1933, the National Socialist Party took over the reigns of government In view of the fact that the new Government was immediately overwhelmed with work of reconstruction, the executive body of the Hitler Youth resolved to launch out on its own initiative and to acquire control over the other existing youth organisations, in particular, the Reich Committee of the German Youth Federations This latter was a governing body in which all sorts of German youth organisations, whether Marxist, confessional or student groups, were represented with equal rights, and in which, in endless discussions, they sought to vindicate their existence Its chairman, General Vogt, took account of the situation and declared himself prepared to cooperate with Baldur von Schirach

The incorporation of the Reich Committee facilitated the coordination of the various federations and organisations, although this did not occur without

arousing opposition, notably on the part of the Pan-German Youth Federation led by the famous Admiral von Trotha. The appointment of Schirach to the newly-created post of Youth Leader of the German Reich rendered possible the dissolution of the Pan-German Youth Federation. Admiral von Trotha generously offered his services as Honorary Leader of the Marine Section of the Hitler Youth. There followed the incorporation of the "Scharnhorst," of the youth section of the Steel Helmet organisation and of the various smaller groups, so that the ranks of the Hitler Youth rapidly swelled from one million on January 30th, 1933, to three million. Only the two big religious societies of the evangelical and catholic youth continued to retain their independence.

Then, towards the end of the year 1933, following an interview which took place between the newly-appointed Reich Bishop, Ludwig Müller, and the Reich Youth Leader, it was decided that the evangelical youth organisations should cease to exist in so far as they assumed tasks which coincided with those of the Hitler Youth. They could continue to carry on as spiritual fellowships in the sense in which they were originally formed. The Hitler Youth conceded to their evangelical members permission to devote one evening of the week to religious exercises. Following this agreement, the evangelical youth was incorporated in the Hitler Youth. Baldur von Schirach holds that an agreement of this sort could also have been concluded with the catholic youth societies, but hitherto the differences existing between the Vatican and the Wilhelm Strasse had stood in the way of an understanding in this direction.

On December 1st, 1936, the German Cabinet passed the Law relating to the Hitler Youth. This law entrusted the Hitler Youth with the task of organising the entire German youth within the territory of the Reich. Apart from parental and school control, the entire youth is to undergo bodily, mental and moral training in the Hitler Youth in the spirit of National Socialism for national service. The educational mission is entrusted to the Reich Youth Leader of the National Socialist Party. He thereby becomes the Youth Leader of the German Reich and has the position of a supreme Reich authority with headquarters in Berlin. He is made directly subordinate to the Führer and Reich Chancellor.

Although this law constituted something altogether unique of its kind, it was in point of fact nothing else than the recognition by the State of a development that had already been accomplished. For the youth which was now called upon to serve in the Hitler Youth had for the most part already lined up of its own free accord under the banners of the Hitler Youth. In a statement explaining the purport of the law, Baldur von Schirach, after recalling the circumstances under which the youth first flocked to the Hitler Youth banners, went on to expound his views on the realisation of the mission entrusted to him.

"'Youth must be led by youth.' This dictum," said the Reich Youth Leader, "that Adolf Hitler imparted to me when, in the hard days of the struggle, he entrusted me with the leadership of the Youth Sector of the National Socialist Party, will continue in future to be the guiding principle of our work. I, too, have no intention of appear-

ing one day before my youth as a decrepit old man with a long beard Every unit of youth must be led in the spirit of youth Not immature and inept persons, but young activists who have passed through a hard course of training in our Leader Training Centres and Academies will continue in future to be placed at the head of our youth

"But here, too, we have no intention to proceed in a dogmatic manner and, now that we have become a supreme Reich authority, we shall be at special pains to avoid riding the high horse of legal paragraphs and thereby suffocating the healthy instincts with the proverbial dust from the shelves containing official documents At all phases of our struggle, I have been surrounded by a number of colleagues who, though advanced in years, were, *in their youthfulness of spirit and elasticity of mind, models* for every *pimpf* (*Pimpf* is the nickname given to the boys of ten to fourteen years of age organised in the German "*Jungvolk*", the pre organisation of the Hitler Youth Editor's note) Furthermore, I regarded it as my duty to preserve, in a form already clearly conceived by me, the principle of voluntary service even under the altered conditions brought about by the promulgation of the new Law "

As a matter of fact, even subsequent to December 1st, 1936, no pressure of any kind was exerted to induce, the youth organised in religious societies to join the National Socialist organisation

"My activity in future," Schirach went on to say," will now be dedicated entirely to the task of leading and equipping my millions of followers The dispute regarding the unity of youth is now definitely settled and, just as I have made loyal comrades and colleagues of millions of young people who were once organised in Marxian youth groups, in like manner I hope now to be able to reconcile and win the hearts of all the other members of the younger generation who are now brought into our ranks at the express wish of the Reich

"I am contemplating neither the erection of places of pagan sacrifice in the forests of Germany nor the initiation of the youth in some Wotan cult, and I shall not deliver Young Germany over to the magic arts of some bearded herb apostle On the contrary May it be given to everyone to obey the dictates of his conscience in the matter of religion The Hitler Youth is not a church and the church is not the Hitler Youth

"The community led by me, and for whose welfare I am responsible, will be shaped and determined for the National Socialist state, in the sense desired by the Fuhrer, exclusively by me and my subordinate leaders "

Let us now turn to a discussion of the basic principles governing the attitude of the Youth Command to the question of the religious youth societies

As Baldur von Schirach declared in the course of a speech delivered in Berlin before the Diplomatic Corps and foreign newspaper correspondents, the education of youth is an inalienable sovereign right of the State The aim of the state controlled education of youth lies in the systematic conversion of incognisant young people into conscious citizens and bearers of the conception of the State The most important instrument for the attainment of this aim is the State Youth, that is to say, the community of young Germans of all classes and religious, in other words, the Hitler Youth Movement It is the community in which Young Germany is schooled to adopt a vital outlook on life

The religious association of young people, as formerly constituted, was in the opinion of the Youth Command an association of young people who negated

the idea of the State, wishing in fact to have nothing at all to do with it In this sense, the church group had to be considered as one of the by products of those conditions which created the State built up on class antagonisms The socialist conception of the Third Reich, on the other hand, demands of every individual the unconditional subordination of his individual being to the socialist existence of his people This socialist existence, however, has only one form of expression as far as the youth of Germany is concerned, namely, the Hitler Youth Every youth association outside the Hitler Youth transgresses against the spirit of the community which is the spirit of the State

Yet there is a plane on which the religious association may lay claim to a spiritual right to exist This is recognised and respected by the Hitler Youth As the name indicates, the church youth association feels itself linked up with a religious experience, this, however, must not be made the starting point on the road to political objectives but must remain the heart and core of all the activities of such an association, otherwise two things are violated on the march which should be held inviolate Firstly, the State, whose right to educate must remain inviolate, and, secondly, religion itself, in that the church association would be forsaking religion in the degree in which it strove for the attainment of political ends

Hence National Socialism has brought itself to insist that the church association should restrict its activities exclusively to the domain of spiritual welfare, whilst at the same time making a strong stand in behalf of religion No objections are made to the organisation of Germany's church youth in religious societies whose conduct and activity are determined solely by religious conviction Given a restriction of this sort, in which the church youth concern themselves purely with matters of spiritual welfare, the Youth Command would be prepared to raise the ban on dual membership because there would then no longer be the danger of alleged religious societies concerning themselves with tasks which devolve solely and alone upon the State

Let the Church be responsible for religious instruction and the State for the forming of the political outlook upon life—such is the formula which, in the opinion of Baldur von Schirach, can supply the basis for fertile cooperation

A few days *after the Law relating to the Hitler Youth had been proclaimed*, Baldur von Schirach made further reference to this subject in the course of a broadcast address to German parents and German youth

"Many erring clergymen," said the Reich Youth Leader, ' have sought to represent me as an enemy of religious instruction Their words have failed to evoke any echo from our young people themselves for the simple reason that they know me better For never have I tolerated a *godless person in the Hitler Youth Whoever has sworn* allegiance to the Hitler Youth banner has bound himself not only to this banner but, at the same time to a Higher Power And long before December 1st, those who joined our fellowship had to confirm their avowal with the words, "As true as God help me!'

As regards the religions themselves, speaking as Youth Leader of the German Reich and seeing that, after all, we possess several denominations, I am unable to

give any binding declaration for the Youth, just as I am obliged to avoid doing anything that might cause a cleavage in the ranks of Youth.

For this reason, then, I leave it to the churches to attend to the religious instruction of Youth in the sense of their religious faiths and will never interfere in this instruction. My mission has been entrusted to me by the German Reich. I am responsible to the Reich for seeing that the entire Youth is physically, mentally and morally trained and schooled in the sense of the National Socialist conception of the State. A certain service has been introduced for enabling this educational mission to be carried out. And I have not the slightest objection to make if, outside this service, every youth is given religious instruction at the place chosen by his parents or by himself. On Sundays, there will be, in principle, no duties to perform during church hours, so that each will be given opportunity to attend the church of his choice.

"Now that, by virtue of the Law of December 1st, the dispute between the Hitler Youth and the religious youth associations has been terminated, I am induced as a matter of course to enact that, within the domain of the great Reich organisation now in process of formation, all leaders of both sexes shall refrain from all utterances in the sense of the past dissensions and shall make a point of seeing that divine service on Sunday and sundry exercises of a purely religious character prescribed by the churches are not affected by service in the Hitler Youth."

In fulfilment of this promise, the relationship of the Hitler Youth to the churches was defined and regulated by declaration of the Reich Youth Leader made on June 26th, 1937. After it had already been conceded that regular church hours should be left blank in the Hitler Youth service schedule, it was now decreed that, in recognition of the spiritual duties devolving upon the churches and other religious bodies, furlough shall be granted upon request in exceptional cases and for attendance at special ceremonies of the churches or faith communities (exercises lasting several days, pilgrimages, missionary courses, confirmation classes, and so forth). On the other hand, participation without a grant of furlough shall be made punishable within the scope of the disciplinary code of the Hitler Youth. Furlough for this purpose shall not be granted during the duration of a Hitler Youth camp, nor if it amounts to an interference with the ordinary run of duties, nor if the requests appear excessive.

A further decree regulated the question of dual membership of Hitler Youth and religious youth associations and defined under what conditions departure could be made from the general practice which had hitherto upheld the principle of forbidding dual membership.

Organisation of the National Socialist Youth Movement

The movement is composed of three main pillars: *Jungvolk*, Hitler Youth, League of German Girls (BDM.). The *Jungvolk*, as already mentioned, is made up of juveniles of ten to fourteen years of age, the Hitler Youth of lads of fourteen to eighteen years of age, whilst the Girls' League makes a distinction, on the basis of the same age grades, between *Jungmadel* and *Mädel* (up to 21 years of age). The movement is divided into five main territories: East, North, South, Middle and West. The main territories are composed of from 4 to 5 regions; a region (averaging 100,000 juveniles) into two to five main groups (*Oberbann*).

Each main group is made up of about six groups, these are organised in sub-groups and these again in so-called followerships. The comradeship (in the *Jungvolk* it is called the "*Jungenschaft*", in the BDM. the "*Mädelschaft*" and "*Jungmädelschaft*". It is the smallest unit of the movement (about 15 members).

At the head of each unit stands a leader. Considering that the Hitler Youth, with a membership of upwards of seven million, is the largest National Socialist body in existence, it is not surprising that it has a big need of leaders of both sexes. Some 290,000 service posts have to be filled in the lower units and about 30,000 in the middle-sized units. Leaders have to be selected for some 1,250 higher service posts. As a result of the fact that the Labour Service and the Army are constantly calling up new recruits, each year witnesses a big change (about 20%) in the composition of the movement.

The training of the élite occurs in the Leader Training Centres, either in the Regional Training Centre or in one of the three Reich Academies for the Training of Leaders. The girls have their own regional training centres as well as three Reich Academies for the Training of Girl Leaders. Today the Hitler Youth possesses in all 79 establishments working in accordance with a unified schedule and conducted by persons who are directly controlled through the Schooling and Training Department of the Reich Youth Command.

The Leader Training Centres of the National Socialist Youth Movement are located, almost without exception, in districts of outstanding scenic beauty. Their equipment is, in principle, invariably the same, particularly as regards sports outfit and educational books. Each centre has its own sports ground, seeing that physical training occupies a paramount place in the schedule. The Reich Academies for the Training of Leaders are brought somewhat more in accord with instruction in matters of political outlook. The courses at these training centres last on an average three weeks; every candidate for the post of leader has to pass through a period of three years' training, whereby two years have to be spent in actual service and one year at the various training centres. Members of the Hitler Youth Leader Corps must have completed their term of military service. This method gives an assurance that only those candidates will be selected for the post of Hitler Youth leaders who have given proof of their suitability both as regards character and capability.

No matter what his rank or position, the individual leader is, in his own realm of responsibility, the bearer of an unqualified power of authority. The National Socialist principle of the absolute responsibility of a leader to his superiors and his equally absolute authority over his group has been given full application in the Hitler Youth Movement. The Hitler Youth leader makes out the order of the day for his group, leads them on the march and in the camp, draws up the programme for the evening gatherings and attends to all the thousand of other things which belong to the life of a German boy in these times.

In contradistinction to many other countries, Germany does not train its youth in the use of military weapons at all. Instruction in the use of firearms, which is given to a very modest extent at the training centres, has merely a

sporting significance. The physical training of the Hitler lads is a good all round training whose control lies in the hands of the Reich Sports Leader, State Secretary von Tschammer und Osten.

Home, camp and roving are chapters in the life of the Hitler Youth Movement that deserve special mention.

The *Heim* constitutes the core of the smaller units. The Home enables the young lads to avoid the road that leads to the public house and such like places and to live without contracting habits of drinking and smoking. A Home may be as unpretentious as can be imagined. Two old railway carriages joined together and put shipshape by the lads themselves make just as good a Home as a disused mansion placed at the disposal of youth by some well-wisher and converted inside and out to suit their requirements. All the same, in his traditional New Year's address on January 1st, 1937, Baldur von Schirach was at pains to emphasise the necessity of getting Homes which, in their architectural appearance and general attractiveness, reflect the spirit of the times. Other members of the German cabinet have issued appeals for the erection of Youth Homes of this sort, which mean so much for Young Germany and which provide the pre-requisites for the building up of that uncompromising comradeship demanded of the younger generation of today. They have requested all Party and official quarters, as well as the provincial and municipal authorities, to promote to the utmost of their power the campaign for the erection of Hitler Youth Homes (see Pict. 172).

You can always count on meeting some of the Hitler youth in the Homes, in fact, it is there the parents first go if their son is missing for a bit. Finding time drag at his real home he will have gone around to the Home of his "Followship" or "Comradeship". Moreover, the Home serves in the best possible manner to train the youth in the philosophy of National-Socialism. Every Wednesday evening is set aside for a so-called "*Heimabend*". The boys and girls foregather in their Homes. The competent leader then conducts the gathering according to the *Heimabend* dossier issued by the Reich Youth Command. This dossier, which is uniform for the entire Reich, contains the songs which are to be sung in common. It also contains pictures which are passed round from hand to hand and serve to illustrate the *Heimabend* subject which is the same throughout the entire Reich.

Then the radio is switched on and all listen in to the item entitled "Young Germany's Hour" which, beginning punctually at 8.15 every Wednesday evening, is broadcast by all German stations. The subject chosen is either a radio play, dialogue or lecture. Millions of young people are uniformly schooled in this manner. In addition, many of the stations include special items in their programmes such as talks on hobbies, accounts of expeditions, song items and so forth.

The *Camp* is naturally a tent camp. It constitutes the great invigorator for the youth compelled to live in big cities, above all, for the young workers in the industrial districts. The period of time spent in the camp varies from four

sporting significanc[illegible]h Hostels is thus the world's biggest host. In the year 1936, training whose [illegible]outh hostels were used by approximately 200,000 foreign guests. Secretary von [illegible]

[illegible]astment of the Hitler Youth in social effort aims at increasing the Home[illegible]y and the output of the younger generation. This enlistment of the ment [illegible]of youth finds its plainest expression in the Reich Vocational Competition Th[illegible]ised each year by the Hitler Youth Command in collaboration with the you man Labour Front. It is concluded with the ceremony of presenting the a[illegible]outhful victors to the Fuhrer.

The idea of carrying competition into vocational life is not new. Ever since the guild rivalries of the Middle Ages, it has been customary in many countries to hold minor competitions of a vocational character. Nevertheless, this emulative strife had never before assumed such importance or been organised and carried out on such a vast scale. When it is borne in mind that only twenty out of about two million young workers admitted to this competition have to be picked out as champions by a system based on the completion by each entrant of a carefully prescribed technical piece of work, and that thousands of expert commissions have to engage on the task of making this selection, it becomes possible to form an idea of the vast scope of this action.

There is no disputing the importance of the Reich vocational competition. It consists in training young workers for high-grade and specialised work. But this advantage is outdone by the tremendous moral incentive to the idealistic profession of faith of an entire younger generation in labour and socialism, that is, in the system obtaining in Germany of today. The value of the Reich vocational competitions is therefore political as well as technical, and the same remark applies to the entire training and instruction carried on in the Hitler Youth Movement. The Hitler Youth Command is primarily concerned with expounding to the boys and girls the basic ideas of the National Socialist philosophy, and imparting a knowledge of race and soil as the foundations of national life. This is done in a way most fitting to the respective ages. The "*Pimpf*" is taught by object lesson, or by means of history lessons in which emphasis is laid on the role played by leading personalities, to appreciate the demands made upon him by the Movement. The Hitler youth sees the historical development of the German people and learns to apply his conclusions to the present time. Thousands of individual features drawn from life and history thus combine to create his outlook upon life (see Picts. 173, 175).

Very characteristic in this respect are the new Adolf Hitler Training Centres established by the National Socialist Party as pre-schools for the National Socialist high academies. These schools are primarily for those boys who have distinguished themselves in the German *Jungvolk* and have completed their twelfth year of age. Attendance at one of these training centres, which are organised in six classes, lasts until the candidate is called up for military service, but the important fact is that the leaving certificate issued by these Adolf Hitler Schools enables the holder to embark on any career in the Party or the State. Here, indeed, is formed the political outlook of the coming generations.

One of the important fields of activity of the Hitler Youth is the Rural Service System It aims at getting urban youth closely and perpetually bound to the soil and also engaged in the Production Campaign In the year 1936, this organisation was able to distribute 6,608 young urban workers over the country side in 642 village groups, but a far greater development of this institution is under contemplation A village group is just a rural service unit employed as a body in a peasant village The members of this group work for the individual peasants, singly or in twos and threes, but they are quartered in the community home

Sound in body and mind, this youth as organized in the Rural Service, is the product of an association of comradeship and daily toil The Rural Service, as a matter of fact, constitutes one of the finest social establishments of German youth, it represents the sole and most fitting way of leading young urban workers back to the land

Every civilised nation has to devote itself without respite to the task of educating its youth To be sure, each country will choose to solve this problem in its own particular way, as this is a matter determined by national character Yet it is difficult to conceive of any domain more suited to a pacific exchange of views between all peoples than that of the education of youth The more it becomes possible for educators to agree on certain basic principles of education, the greater becomes the possibility of the younger generation of all nations growing up in accord with each other instead of in opposition Notable service is thereby rendered to the cause of peace

Such is his conviction on this score that Baldur von Schirach has laid it down as a principle that the Hitler Youth Command shall refrain from concerning itself at all with matters of foreign policy, but in all its foreign connections shall concentrate its energies on realising the great task of establishing fruitful collaboration between the German youth and the youth of other countries Pursuant to this resolve, parties of German youth set out in great number each year for visits to foreign countries with the object of becoming acquainted with the customs and usages of other peoples At the same time, invitations to visit Germany on a generous scale are sent out to the youth of other nations Last year, no less than 50,000 foreigners visited Germany at the invitation of the Hitler Youth They came to study the work which is being accomplished by German youth Incidentally, instruction in foreign languages and in political geography plays a prominent part in the general schedule adopted for the Hitler Youth formations

Modern Germany is at great pains to build up a new generation physically and spiritually stronger than of the immediate post-war period Adolf Hitler is taking a great personal interest in this matter The fact alone that he has made the Reich Youth Leader directly responsible to himself and has liberated the Youth Movement from all connection with the state bureaucracy goes to prove this beyond a shadow of doubt The Führer sees in the youth the future of the nation and the continuation of his work

"A time will come when the German people will rejoice at the sight of its youth. Then we shall be able with full equanimity and confidence to enter upon our advanced days convinced in our heart of hearts that our life struggle has not been in vain. Youth will then be marching along behind us. And that is spirit of our spirit, that is our firm resolute will, our spartanism, that is the picture of the life of our race." (Hitler, Party Congress 1935.)

Comparisons are proverbially odious and often very much out of place—but, seizing upon two examples, if the English boy scout movement and the Italian balilla with their kindred organisations represent in conception and form the most appropriate solution of the youth problem in their respective countries, then the Hitler Youth whose organisation differs in points of outstanding importance from that of the above-mentioned institutions, can honestly be said to be the most practical form of a youth federation for Germany. The Hitler youth, like the boy scout and the balilla, is a personification of national characteristics.

"Our flag does beckon us ahead,
Our flag is the signal of the dawn!"

That is the true spirit of the Hitler Youth! ...

XVII

The Status of Woman in the Third Reich

During the years when National Socialism was fighting its way to power, Adolf Hitler never failed to bear in mind the importance of the part played by woman in helping to advance his cause "Had it not been for the constancy and really loving devotion of woman," declared the Fuhrer at the last Nuremberg Party Congress, "I should never have been able to lead the Party on to victory" Upon his advent to power, he took immediate steps to vindicate the claim of German womanhood to a full share in those forms of state activity where there is a generally recognized need for their special gifts of patience and intuition, in the domain of public welfare work, for instance.

I had occasion, along with some of my colleagues of the foreign press, to interview Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, the Reich Women Leader, on the status of German women in modern Germany. Replying to the question as to why German womanhood felt attracted to the Hitler movement from the very outset, she said

"Our conception of life is a matter which concerns the entire nation to the very roots of its being It is not determined by material considerations but by the soul of the nation And in matters affecting the soul, the decision does not reside with the majority but depends upon the spiritual strength of the individual This was a vital thought in the mind of German manhood, yet many German women were bound in unswerving loyalty to this manhood during the long struggle for possession of the soul of the German people.

We have been reproached in certain quarters with having betrayed the special interests of woman for the sake of gaining this unswerving loyalty My plain answer to that is to point out that all along the supreme guiding principle of National Socialist thought and action has been to put common welfare before private interests Hence, as long as we were not in a position to help our nation as a whole, there was not the slightest question of our placing the special wishes, or even the special cares and troubles of woman in the foreground in any way. As long as ardent concern about the spiritual progress of our people continued to possess the hearts of German men, this nation in its entirety was more important for us women than individual cares and wishes"

German womanhood is confronted abroad with many prejudices and false conceptions which spring from an inadequate acquaintance with German and the German people There are those who would judge German womanhood by the slim, smart and cosmopolitan Berlin woman who promenades her

delightful little pet dog along the Kurfürstendamm or drives her elegant "Mercedes" on the roads of Berlin's outlying suburbs. Others continue to believe in the prevalence of the bourgeois "Gretchen type" with rosy complexion, blue eyes and plaits of blond hair falling over the shoulders. These notions are just as false as it would be wrong to judge French womanhood from the painted Parisian of the boulevards.

Speaking generally, German women, though they like to be smartly dressed, prefer a note of simplicity in their clothes. It is an expression of their frankness of character. Even if, under the new regime, they are not so eagerly bent on entering upon a university career or on seeking to make a name for themselves in politics, nevertheless they remain remarkable for their high standard of education and their knowledge and appreciation of music, literature and other arts. It is a common sight, for instance, to see concert halls and lecture rooms with audiences composed for the most part of women.

But family life remains the chief pre-occupation of young German womanhood. Its thoughts are dominated by the desire to enter upon family life. German girls are conscious of the responsibilities which devolve upon them as future mothers. They allow themselves to be evoked to enthusiasm by the patriotic speeches of Adolf Hitler and join gladly and willingly in the big National Socialist demonstrations, but all the time they remain true to their womanhood and, in this sense, they have no superior in the entire world. Every wife is keen on establishing her reputation as a good housewife and takes delight in showing what she has learnt in her own parental home, in the housewifery department of the National Socialist women's groups or in private schools.

In these tasks falling to her lot, the German woman shows that she is fully aware of her responsibility towards the community as a whole. "We serve the life of our people," declared a member of one of the National Socialist "*Frauenschaften*", when I questioned her on this point, "we regard our household tasks as a means for achieving and maintaining the physical and spiritual health of our nation from the wellsprings of our own national economy."

The new conception of life has changed the mental outlook of German women and their conduct generally. Today, many thousands of Hitler Youth girls take a pride in wearing the plain brown jacket and black skirt which constitutes their uniform apparel, and are glad to have ousted the "Bubikopf" from favour. It means that German youth has returned to the basic moral and ethical principles, to a sense of their own worth and to a greater regard for the opinion of others, without thereby falling a prey to exaggerated prudery. This transformation has been helped along by the fact that woman has come to have a greater respect for the nation's manhood. The decrease in unemployment and the greater opportunities for work, the enlistment of young men in the Labour Service and in the Army have cleared the streets and the gayer sort of establishments of a number of all too venturesome young bloods and given these the opportunity of getting acquainted with the rules and standards of social life and thus of bringing themselves to have respect for womanhood.

The loose behaviour of young men—and not these alone—towards women in general was one of the first things which struck a visitor to the German capital during the era of the Weimar Republic The revival of compulsory military service was a good thing for the reputation of Young Germany, for it meant, at that time, that the young men would be led to adopt once more a chivalrous attitude towards the weaker sex

Interesting in view of the new feeling for ethics and morality impressed upon the female youth is a passage in the address delivered by the Reich Youth Leader to a gathering of members of the German Girls League "As girls," he said, "you must learn to play your part in the national community and you have to school yourselves for the day when you shall become the wives of our men and the mothers of the new generation For the men who are to shape the future of the German people need women of your kind Women who in profound faith and brave in spirit are prepared to share with their menfolk every hardship and sacrifice That is a high aim for every girl, for whose attainment it is verily worth while to devote years to making oneself strong, ready and capable, to preserve and keep oneself pure with a view to being able in all honesty to fulfil this mission"

On the whole, the young girl is quite content to work in an office or factory until ready to get married It helps to lighten the family burden Generally she contributes her share to the family budget and pays for her own personal requirements and amusements She manifests a strong interest in nursing which, in Germany, calls for special training and a rather long period of probational work Should the young girl desire at last to enter upon matrimonial life, she gladly gives up her career, however attractive its prospects, to live for her home and family The large number of marriages made practically possible by the aid of state loans, granted until the recent extension only when the would be wife was prepared to withdraw from the field of business or industrial activity, can be cited as testimony

National Socialism has precisely defined the mission of woman and her duties towards the national community According to Hitler, there are two worlds in the life of a nation the world of woman and the world of man Nature has ordained that man shall be guardian of the family and has imposed upon him the further obligation of acting as protector of the community in its entirety The world of contented womanhood is made up of family, husband, children, home It is from within this narrow sphere that she views the community as a whole Both worlds combine to form a totality in which a people is able to live and prosper

National Socialism recognizes this natural mission of woman and does not favour her employment in man's field of activities All the same, it protests against the assertion made abroad to the effect that it seeks to deprive women of liberty and equality In one of his last speeches, the Führer said, "As long as we possess a sound manly race (and we National Socialists will see to that),

there will be formed in Germany no female hand-grenade thrower detachments and no female sharp-shooter corps. For that is not equality of status, but placing women in an inferior position."

An immeasurably broad field of labour is opened to woman in the New Germany. It is nonsense to say that women have been ousted from the professions. All that has happened is that they are given every possible opportunity to help build a family and beget children, because it is in this way that they are best able to serve her country. However brilliant a woman lawyer may be, if living next door to her is a mother who has succeeded well in bringing up five, six or seven children, from a National Socialist viewpoint the achievement of this mother represents far more than the activity of the woman whose name is known to everyone. According to Hitler, the affairs of a State should be conducted in such a manner as to remove, as far as possible, all economic obstacles to matrimony. The German Government is trying to solve this task by passing a series of legislative measures, in particular, with the object of assuring the health of both sexes.

That both sexes are advised and requested to keep to their own domain of activity is in itself an assurance of a determination to avoid anything which might place either of the sexes in a derogatory position. Basic differences are recognized, that is all. The mission devolving upon German womanhood in the New State is far above being man's political or vocational rival. It is altogether wrong to suppose that housewifery is unproductive. That was a stricture commonly heard in the Germany of yesterday; it is a way of thinking typical of an epoch which equated productivity with private profit or personal advantage and never with national gain which, indirectly, works out to the advantage of the individual.

The National Socialist Women Groups

The National Socialist women groups came into existence at the time when the Party was struggling for power. National Socialist women organized themselves on the same lines as the Party. The organisation is headed by the Reich Women Leader, Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, and is composed of regional, district and local directives. The smallest unit is the cell. The total membership to date is upwards of eleven million women.

The advent of Hitler to power opened up the road to the fulfilment of the fixed programme. All the existing women's societies and institutions, which had hitherto lacked a united lead and a unifying conception of life, were now merged in one big organisation. The German Women's Organisation is today the common abode for the entire German female sex. Incorporated in it are organisations, societies and individual members who take an active part in the national life. Housewife and woman student, teacher and nurse, woman worker and artist are united for common achievement.

The new headquarters of the Reich Woman Command are located in the Derfflinger Strasse in the West-End of Berlin. There are four administrative departments and five main executive departments. The administrative depart-

ments deal with the business side of the organisation, with the tasks of organisation, with press and propaganda A few facts about the five main executive departments will serve to convey an idea of the manifold activities of this organisation

The Main Department "Culture, Education and Schooling" has to attend to the following fields of activity Schooling in political philosophy (hereto belong the two training academies in Coburg and Berlin, as well as the 32 centres of training regional leaders to supervise the 100,000 women and girls already organized under this head) racial policy, gymnastics, education of girls, plastic and applied art, literature, community games and drama, pastimes

The Main Department "Reich Maternity Service" has the following fields of activity *maternal training, health including infant care, education,* homemaking and folkcraft

In the Main Department "National Economy—Housewifery" with the fields of activity national economy, housewifery, food supply, household arts, dress making, building and dwelling These cover all the economic and political questions which concern woman as consumer and administrator

The Main Department "Frontier and Abroad" has the mission of giving help and advice to Germans domiciled beyond the State frontiers or in foreign countries and has organized the German women's colonial service

Finally, there is the Main Department "Relief Service" which is a total organisation of the German women's red cross societies, women's section of the Winter Relief Fund, women's section of the Social Welfare Organisation, maternal welfare organisation known as "Mutter und Kind", and women's section of the National Air Raid Precautions Recently, by a special enactment of April 27th, 1938, it has considerably extended its activities and now has authority to grant marriage loans up to 1,000 marks to deserving couples

Membership of this big organisation opens up to all German women the possibility of working on behalf of one or other of these departments and thereby in the service of their country

Special mention should be made of the Reich Maternal Service It has the mission of providing for the rising generation of mothers those practical and spiritual prerequisites for the foundation of a healthy family The National Socialist women's organisation does not proceed in accordance with a set pattern but in an organic and vital fashion The German woman is made conscious of her own spiritual forces, whilst the nation is made conscious of the mission of motherhood

Maternal training as conceived by National Socialism is designed to build up a generation of healthy and efficient mothers fully capable of fulfilling their household and maternal duties Training consists of three courses housewifery with courses in cooking and home needlework, health care with courses in infant care and general nursing, and, finally, pedagogics with courses in educational questions with special reference to hobbies, folk customs and usage and the beautification of the home

The courses last several weeks The number of those taking part is constantly on the increase It has risen from 186,000 in the year 1935 to 1,140 000 in the year 1937 There are already 220 of these maternal training centres, not including the four Reich maternal training centres established in the distressed areas for women who are not able to attend the regular courses but are able to communi cate their own experiences to those living in their immediate neighbourhood Finally, a Reich Maternal Training Centre has been founded in Wedding, a suburb of Berlin It is both headquarters and a centre for the training of teachers

The same principles hold good in the domain of national economy Women and girls are instructed how to spend their money and manage their household affairs in a way which is in strict accordance with the prevailing national eco nomic position By doing so, they succeed in transforming a hard existence into a beautiful life The girls are brought to adopt this vital attitude towards life in the Female Labour Service

Apart from the big Women's Organisation, the National Socialist women groups have set up the Women's Section of the German Labour Service, entrusted with the special task of seeing that the modern German woman is imbued with the socialist outlook honour and respect for creative womanhood and protection for the working mother Responsible for the direction of this Office is the Reich Women's Leader, Frau Scholtz Klink The Women's Office has, among other things, inaugurated four notable measures exchange of working place, liberation from heavy labour, agreement with the NSV for the proper care of pregnant female workers, and additional holidays by replacement through girl students

By means of the exchange of working place, women whose existence has been safeguarded in other directions, are replaced by men This occurs for the main part by the work creation for the unemployed husband or son Another form of labour exchange consists in transferring women from heavy to lighter jobs, leaving the former to male workers The withdrawal of women from the field of heavy labour has been accomplished Where, however, in specific cases, male labour is still being performed by female workers, the wages of the latter are brought into conformity with those of male workers

Prior to the revision of the Law relating to Maternal Protection, the Women's Bureau had concluded an emergency agreement with the National Socialist Public Welfare Organisation decreeing that expectant mothers should cease to work from four to six weeks before their confinement and should also have somebody to wait upon them The replacement of female workers by girl students is in keeping with the desire to obtain for the married female factory workers who is also a mother, an extended holiday with full pay Up to now, approxi mately 2,600 girl students as well as members of the National Socialist women groups have done duty in the factories and thereby presented female workers with a total of 43 000 additional holidays with full pay

Frau Scholtz Klink is, at the same time, Reich Women Leader of the German Red Cross Society, which is thus given a powerful impulse as a section of an international organisation By virture of a special agreement, the German Red Cross Society has taken upon itself to train the members of the National Socialist

women groups as Red Cross nurses This has meant the enlistment of the best type of woman, ready to assume the greatest measure of responsibility and to make every sacrifice in the service of her country In point of fact, as we have already mentioned, every German woman has an innate bent for nursing The Samaritarians of the Red Cross co operate with the female workers of the National Socialist Public Welfare Organisation in visiting the sick, organizing Kindergartens and doing duty during mass demonstrations, such as the big May Day Festival in Berlin, the Reich Party Congress in Nuremberg, the Harvest Festival on the Buckeberg and so forth At the present, the German Red Cross has at its disposal 91,411 samaritarians and 9,298 auxiliary workers

Though all the aims have not yet been attained and much remains to be done, nevertheless the achievements of these past four years are rich in promise As Frau Scholtz Klink remarked to me on one occasion "We shall pursue our way without deviation, for it leads to a conquest of our own spiritual forces We owe it to ourselves to face every consequence of our action If Fate should place stumbling blocks in our path, as it does in the path of every nation, we shall use them as steps in our upward climb Our course of action shall then be respected by all those who love their own people as we love ours "

XVIII.

Science and Education

When, after his accession to power, the Führer entrusted the post of Prussian Minister of Education to Regional Leader Bernard Rust and, in the year 1934, appointed him German Minister for Science, Education and Popular Instruction, his choice for this difficult task had fallen upon a man who seemed peculiarly fitted to carry it to a successful issue.

Bernhard Rust, who comes of old Lower Saxon peasant stock, wanted as a young man to dedicate his life to music. Circumstances, however, forced him to abandon this intent. He studied philology and philosophy and finally entered the teaching profession. A career of great promise was interrupted by the outbreak of the world war. The war years were spent in service at the front and, in 1918, he returned home holding the rank of a captain. After the collapse of the Second Reich, Rust threw himself into the struggle against Bolshevism. He was made a company leader of the Civic Guard and became one of the forerunners of the national resurgence in Lower Saxony. When, on November 9th, 1923, the hopes of the National Socialist Movement seemed to have collapsed, he resolved to join the National Socialist Party. After the Fuhrer had been released from prison, Bernhard Rust was brought for the first time into his presence and was authorised by him to capture Lower Saxony for the Movement. The growth of the Movement in Lower Saxony made a partition of this region necessary and since then Rust has held the post of Regional Leader of the South Hanover and Brunswick region. In the year 1930 he sponsored in the provincial diet a non-confidence motion directed against the social democratic leader Noske because the latter, as president of the diet, had banned the Hitler youth from the schools. Hereupon, Noske launched a regular campaign against the hated National Socialist leader with the result that he was dismissed from his post.

It will thus be seen that in Bernhard Rust we have united in perfect harmony all the outstanding qualities of the scientist, educationalist and political fighter. Some conception of the state of German education as he found it is furnished by the fact that the establishment of a new Ministry for Education on May 1st, 1934, led for the first time in Germany to a centralised control on the basis of a unified political philosophical outlook. It put an end to the multifarious trends and independent movements which had split up the German educational system in the past. National Socialism alone created the preliminary conditions without which an achievement of this kind would have been impossible.

Education

The National Socialist revolution, it should be realised, was solely responsible for bringing about the re shaping of *the German educational system in that it* provided an entirely new foundation The National Socialist attitude towards education is aptly expressed in a passage in Bernhard Rust's "Erziehung und Unterricht in der Hoheren Schule" —

"All genuine education is derived from living experience which is enkindled by life itself When National Socialism insists on the priority of life and action over all other systems of education and learning, it is giving utterance to the law which governs the evolution of every great phase of cultural advance Political action is the foundation of a New Order of Things Before it is possible to speak of a New Education, it is first necessary to set up the New Order of Things replete with the power of conviction The State created by Adolf Hitler has become an Educational State because the Fuhrer has given volitional unity to the political forces of his people by endowing them with a single world outlook which, by penetrating all spheres and phases of life, once more renders possible a grand and purposeful system of education

All scheduled education is directed towards the maintenance of an existing Order of Things The National Socialist system of education is, by virtue of its very origin, not an achievement of pedagogic planning but of the political struggle and its laws Storm troopers and Hitler Youth were, in the first place, created as fighting organisations of the Movement designed to assured the political victory of National Socialism There very soon evolved from these fighting formations, however, a new Order of Life which was governed by a new educational principle In the political fighting formations of the Storm Troopers and Special Guards, with their soldier like character, the socialist unity of the nation as demanded by the Fuhrer was created by the stringent process of selection brought about by the political struggle Long before the National Socialist state was in a position to take over the control of the system of public education, there had arisen, beyond the domain of the school and the establishments of public education, a closed system of youth training in which a new bearing was achieved, not by way of instruction but through the common struggle and in which the virtues of the character of the movement were developed and put to the test The political fellowship of youth had become a new bearer of education even before it had received from the hand of the National Socialist state its special educational mission Nothing could better illustrate the priority accorded to politics over pedagogics, a priority which had been *repudiated in the 'System Period'*[1] *with its optimistic view* of learning

If, today, the school authorities have resolved to have nothing more to do with a false claim to learning which had been in the past fought for under the watchword *of general education*, when it places itself in the service of a training which begins with the body and takes possession of the soul and leads to the building up of a fellowship both within and without the schoolroom, it has nevertheless to be cognizant of the fact that its path leads at bottom by way of the development of the intellectual faculties Herein lies *no restriction* upon the school but its special mission which it alone is capable of fulfilling All forms of instruction have *one* aim the shaping of the National Socialist human But each of them has its special tasks which has to

[1] As is commonly known the era of the *Weimar Republic* is now referred to in Germany as the "*Systemzeit*

be grasped and fulfilled if it is not to suffer damage itself. The school is, in the main, determined by the fact that it educates by means of lessons. That does not mean that it should be engaged solely in training the intellect and turning out savants or even intellectuals. Whoever has truly recognised that Man is a unity and not a mere combination of body, soul and spirit, will not deny that the training of the mind, the development of the intellectual forces and the communication of the vital materials of education are able to take possession of the entire Man and help to bring his character to maturity..."

In this way, the school in the National Socialist State has, to all outward appearances, been restricted and confined in that it is no longer the sole educational factor. German youth is being moulded, outside the domain of the school, by the formations of the National Socialist movement. Yet despite this apparent restriction, it has in reality received a higher mission than formerly. For the school system, as it existed in pre-revolutionary Germany, was confined to the task of training the intellectual faculties by means of the spoken and written word. The National Socialist system of school instruction is dominated by the acceptance of the fact that body, soul and mind form an indivisible entity and that every form of instruction which takes account of only one part of this threefold unity must remain fruitless and ineffective.

Hence, all school instruction in the National Socialist sense must be at the same time directed towards the formation of character and the training of the body. It is with this principle of the unity of body and soul that National Socialism is seeking to realise the ideal of the *gymnasion* of Ancient Hellas which, contrary to our humanistic gymnasium of the 19th century sought to take hold of human beings in their entirety. Consequently, nothing is more characteristic of the National Socialist school than the way in which special importance is attached to physical training as exemplified in the creation in the Ministry for Education of a special department for physical training. In his directives for physical training which Bernhard Rust had promulgated in the year 1937, physical training for boys attending all the elementary, secondary and higher schools throughout the Reich is regulated in accordance with unified stipulations and age grades. The foreword which accompanied this publication contains a passage in which the nature of physical training is set forth as follows:—

"Within the framework of education regarded as a whole, physical training acquires a decisive importance for the education of youth in the school. Physical training is not a mere lesson in how to shape the body. It is education which starts with the body or whose path lies through the body, that is to say, it is education whose initial impact is in the sphere where juveniles are most amenable to training: in gymnastics, games, in sport and in the movement. Physical training develops and forms, by physical exercises which are true to type and rooted in race, body and soul as the bearer of the racial legacy. By accustoming youth to the vital forms of sport, it creates healthy view on physical beauty and achievement; it arouses and promotes in the individual and in the community the consciousness of the value of one's own race and thus places itself in the service of racial culture.

Physical training demands of youth courage, hardiness and initiative within the orbit of sport fellowship In this way, it creates the possibility of recognising leader qualities and to promote such qualities by the adoption of the principle of selection Physical training is schooling of the will and building of character "

Consequent upon a decree promulgated on October 30th 1934 and upon a supplementary enactment of April 24th 1935, physical training has been made compulsory for every German student taking a three term course of education at any of the German universities or colleges, whilst all students who have passed through their first year of university education are expected to engage regularly in sport of some kind Thirty one institutes for physical training attached to the universities and technical colleges have been made the bearers and centres of the training and schooling in the domain of physical culture The progress made by the centralised organisation for promoting sport among students is exemplified by the following figures whilst in 1933 it was reported that 4,900 male students and 300 female students had joined these voluntary sport organisations, in the year 1935 the figures had increased to 12,200 and 1,600 respectively, and in the year 1937 to 16 500 and 2,500 It stands to reason that the system of providing the teaching profession with facilities for physical training has been entirely reorganised Suitable students are selected to undergo a one year course of practical and scientific training in physical culture and are then sent to a camp where their leader capabilities are put to a severe test The male students are sent to the leader training centre at Neustrelitz and the women students to the High School for Physical Culture in Marburg The older classes of teachers receive, in accordance with a definite plan, physical and character training in the high schools for physical culture, in the camp for leaders at Neustrelitz and in the Reich Academy for Physical Exercises In the year 1937, for example, as many as 20,000 male and female teachers passed through a course of this kind The Reich Academy for Physical Exercises was opened on April 4th 1936 Apart from offering gymnastic instructors and sport teachers facilities for extending and deepening their knowledge, it is able to provide professional gymnastic instructors and trainers with a one year course of practical and scientific instruction

The re organisation of the German educational system following the advent of National Socialism to power proceeded apace in many other domains as well The significance of these measures becomes apparent from the following figures

Educational establishments in Germany

	Public schools	Teaching staff	Girls and boys
Elementary schools	52 370	185,000	7,900,000
Secondary schools	1,200	10 000	235,000
Advanced schools	2,000	36,900	600,000
Vocational schools	5,700	16,000	1,686,000
Universities and Colleges, incl of Teachers' Training Centres	103	9,000	70,000

It was found necessary, in the first place, to effect a total reorganisation of the teaching profession This was immediately undertaken with the assistance of the National Socialist Teachers' Association and is still proceeding in a systematic manner by the formation of training camps and fellowships Special courses in political philosophy are given at these camps and working centres The centralised control has been placed in the hands of the "Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht" set up by the Minister for Education This institute has its own training camps which are attended for a period of several weeks by leading educationalists from all parts of the country Upon leaving these camps, the teachers are under obligation to communicate their experiences to their colleagues In addition to this, the National Socialist Teachers' Association arranges a series of congresses for school inspectors and other school officials and maintains its own for training teachers in the political outlook of National Socialism

Whilst, in this way, the teaching profession as it exists today is being made acquainted with the nature of National Socialist educational principles, the Third Reich has set vigorously about the task of creating a new generation of teachers The training of the German elementary teacher, which formerly occurred in a variety of ways, is now being conducted, on the basis of a uniform schedule, at the newly founded Teachers' Training Centres, a special type of college whose characteristic feature is the combination of research work, theoretical study and opportunity for team work In order to guarantee uniformity in the teaching profession, it is arranged that even the members of the staff of high schools and colleges shall pass through these Teachers' Training Schools A two term course of training at one of these establishments before entering the university is calculated to give them a knowledge of the special demands made by a modern state upon the teaching profession The training centres for teachers have been deliberately located in small rural places in accordance with the importance attached to the acquirement by the teaching profession of a practical knowledge of racial matters

Actually, the spiritual reformation of school education in Germany was effected by an enactment promulgated in the year 1933 It decreed that, in future, all instruction should be based on the principles of racial philosophy and that the younger generation should be made acquainted with the fundamental facts of biology and racial philosophy The so called Selection Decree, promulgated partly at the instigation of the Party's Racial and Political Bureau at the beginning of 1935, stipulated the standards to be adopted in the selection of boys and girls for attendance at the higher centres of education The object is to form an elite of healthy and capable students who are destined, after passing through these higher establishments, to occupy positions of responsibility Strength of character and mind, physical fitness and marked racial traits are the points insisted upon in the matter of this selection Intellectual capabilities are, in future not in themselves sufficient but have to be combined with a strong will power, a sense of right behaviour and of team work and a consciousness of belonging to the German racial stock All branches of learning have

to be dominated by the principle that the German people, its interests and its destiny, should be regarded *as the central theme* in all German schools and universities, alongside of the need for meeting the practical requirements of life

The decree outlining the nature of instruction in the *Grundschule*—the four lower classes of the elementary school—stipulates that local geography, or a knowledge of the homeland, shall be made the starting point and central theme of all lessons The prime elements of knowledge in speaking, writing and arithmetic shall be held in high esteem Gymnastic exercises, music and manual dexterity are made compulsory for all Other forms of school instruction shall with a few exceptions, follow the same principles This uniform equipment of the elementary school has found clear expression in the fact that the new reading book introduced into the elementary school has a nucleus which holds good for the whole Reich whilst the local literature of the individual German regions is added in the form of a supplement

It stands to reason that, in reconstructing the German school system, the National Socialist State has restored the priority of the public school over the private institute For although it places great value on developing strong individual personalities it is compelled to raise the claim that the requirements of the community as a whole shall have priority over individual needs and desires Hence private schools and private instruction are tolerated only in those cases where the state controlled schools are still unable to meet the requirements Seeing that the National Socialist outlook has become the central point of the entire educational system in Germany, it follows that the National Socialist State has to see that religious differences do not lead to a splitting up of the German people into various camps Each individual citizen is allowed full liberty in the exercise of his religion Upbringing, however, must be in accordance with the principles of National Socialist philosophy For this reason, the State is obliged to place restrictions on the system of private schools conducted under church governance in all places where schooling is adequately guaranteed by state controlled establishments

The State's claim to full supremacy in the matter of education has found unmistakable expression in the law of July 6th, 1938 relating to compulsory education Although the system of compulsory education was introduced into Germany quite a century ago, it had never attained to uniformity in the various *Lander* owing to the multiplicity of rules and regulations There was also a number of serious gaps in it, notably with regard to vocational training The new law has changed all this by setting up stipulations which apply to the entire Reich All these stipulations are based on the principles and requirements of a National Socialist system of education and pay particular attention to the necessity of tightening up the system of compulsory vocational training

Whereas, formerly, the law with respect to compulsory education was aimed primarily at serving the interests and welfare of the individual it has been brought in line with National Socialist ideas and made to serve the interests of the community as a whole Like compulsory labour service and military service,

it is a summons made upon the individual on behalf of national welfare. In this sense, Art. 1 of the new law prescribes the schooling of German youth in the spirit of National Socialism. Compulsory attendance at school is no longer felt to be a measure directed primarily against the poorer sections of the population, as it now falls within the scope of a national duty which no longer differentiates between high and low. It has, for instance, become the duty of all parents in Germany to send their children to the elementary school for the first four initial years.

Any piece of educational legislation based on the idea of national service must of necessity find room for an extension of vocational training. Clauses on compulsory vocational training are contained in the new Reich Educational Code and create the prerequisites for the immediate extension of the system of vocational training.

Upon reaching school-age, boys and girls enter the *Volksschule*. There are no mixed classes in the *Volksschule* whose mission is confined, apart from giving a general political schooling, to the task of communicating the indispensable groundwork of knowledge. Children whose mental faculties are below the normal to start with but who show signs of promise, are sent to auxiliary schools. Juveniles of normal mental powers but who are prevented from attending the *Volksschule* through serious physical defects, are sent to special schools to be placed under the charge of specially qualified teachers. The *Volksschule* covers a period of eight years. Its four lower classes are referred to as the *Grundschule* as they are engaged in laying the groundwork for most of the higher schools. Children who have no intention of entering the higher schools obtain their school-leaving certificate at the age of fourteen. They are under compulsion however to take a three year course of vocational training unless other arrangements of an educational character have been made for them. For rural occupations, the period of compulsory vocational training is only two years. This training has, in each case, to be adapted to the requirements of the individual vocations. This is in keeping with the rule that, in principle, apprentices are under compulsion to attend a training school until the termination of their apprenticeship, provided, of course, the requisite training establishments are available. Provision has been made for extending the vocational training of apprentices beyond the normal age limit of eighteen years in cases where the nature of the trade or profession demands expert knowledge and a higher standard of proficiency. Girls who do not intend to take up a trade or enter any of the professions are given the possibility of complying with this compulsion to pass through a course of vocational training by putting in one year at a domestic economy school.

The secondary and higher schools are concerned with giving a "general education" up to the age when it becomes customary for the boys and girls to select their vocation. A distinction must therefore be drawn between those schools in Germany which have as their foundation the basic school (*Grundschule*) covering a period of four years and those which are an extension of the

sixth form of the *Volkschule* The second grade schools (*Mittelschulen*) comprise six years in the primary form and four years in the extension form They are meant for those boys and girls who have evinced a pronounced practical talent They offer instruction in one foreign language Those passing the final examination come into possession of a certificate denoting they have reached a medium standard of education The *Mittelschule*, which formerly existed only in Prussia and a section of the other *Lander*, is in accordance with a promulgation of the Minister for Education to be extended throughout the entire Reich

The higher school system has been constructed following an enactment of the Ministry for Education issued at Easter 1937 and supplemented by a decree of January 29, 1938 The entire basic course of instruction in the higher schools now comprises only eight years, instead of nine years as formerly It is the task of the higher schools to give boys and girls an equal although, from the point of view of the curriculum, varying education

It is designed to obliterate within the nation any tendency in the direction of creating a class of educated persons and a class of uneducated persons It trains the younger generation to rely upon itself and to accept joyfully, when the time comes, the responsibility which will be placed upon its shoulders It selects the most gifted members of the younger generation and trains them for positions of responsibility as doctors, judges, officers, teachers and so forth It does not set out primarily to fill the mind with knowledge but to develop capabilities needed to occupy a position of responsibility

There are now only two types of higher schools in Germany the *Oberschule* and the *Gymnasium* for boys, and for girls a *Oberschule* which in its last three classes is split up into a domestic economy and a language school As far as boys are concerned, the *Oberschule* is the principle form of the higher school In places where there are more than one *Oberschule*, the general practice is to have a *Gymnasium* In the larger towns there are, of course, several *Gymnasia* The upper classes of the *Oberschule* branch off in those specialising in the natural sciences and mathematics and those specialising in languages No distinction of this kind is made in the *Gymnasium* which has a uniform curriculum English is given priority of place in the curriculum of the *Oberschule* Latin appears as compulsory subject for those entering upon the third form, and in the upper forms a choice of a second living language is provided in Italian, Spanish or French The *Gymnasium* starts with Latin, passes on to Greek in the third form and to English in the upper forms Instruction in foreign languages is restricted in the curriculum of the *Oberschule* for Girls in order to make room for subjects more closely related to vital needs of modern womanhood

In addition to the above, there are so called *Aufbauschulen* (Supplementary Schools) for both boys and girls They are the outcome of the population policy of the Reich and are intended to serve the aim of retaining the rural population in the countryside and at the same time of drawing from peasant stock those possessing the character and capabilities which will enable them to rise to high positions These establishments are thus designed to prevent the children of the rural population from drifting into the towns and cities Peasant children are, in this way, given the opportunity, after attending the *Volksschule* for six

years, of putting in a further six years of schooling in direct contact with rural life and conditions in preparation for entering the *Hochschule* and universities. Full facilities are thus provided for the children of the peasantry, and other occupants of the countryside, to enter the higher professions or to take up, for instance, an army career.

Another type of higher school is the "National Political Training Establishment" created by Bernhard Rust on the occasion of the Führer's birthday in 1933. It has the same curriculum as the ordinary higher grade schools but intensifies the political side with emphasis on team work. Attendance is strictly confined to an élite of youth, chosen from all sections of the population by virtue of their pronounced racial characteristics and mental and physical capabilities. They have to spend some of their time working as coal-miners, farm labourers or factory hands. They undertake lengthy tours abroad, visiting the European capitals and even travelling to other continents. They receive a special all-round training in motor driving, yachting, gliding, horse-riding, skiing, fencing, boxing, ocean yachting, small calibre shooting and in paramilitary games. These establishments are governed by their own administrative authorities who are directly attached to the Ministry for Education and under the personal direction of Major Heissmeyer, of the SS formations. The 15 national political training centres have an attendance of 4,000 young men, whilst, in addition, about 400 annually pass through a year's course of training. The teaching and training staff numbers about 400. It deserves to be said that they possess, in all, 140 motorcars. By virtue of an agreement concluded between the Minister for Education and the Reich Youth Leader, these *Jungmannen* of the national political training centres have to be members of the Hitler Youth.

Finally, there is the *Landjahr* started by Bernhard Rust in 1934 and designed to meet the requirements of those juveniles who, though coming of good stock and endowed with high racial qualities, are unable to develop these qualities amidst urban surroundings.

Science

The National Socialist régime has likewise brought fundamental changes in the domain of science. Most important of all was the task of giving it purport and direction and, in accordance with the national Socialist outlook, of bringing it into line with the revolutionary development. Bernhard Rust, German Minister for Education, took the initiative in opening up for German science this new road of development. Speaking on the occasion of the celebrations held in the year 1937 in connection with the bicentenary of the founding of the Georg-August University, Göttingen, Bernhard Rust dealt with the question of the relationship between science and faith.

"Science," he said, "has in modern times suffered a decline and has become more and more a matter for specialists, with the result that the problem of the relationship between faith and knowledge has remained unsolved. Galilei was compelled to denounce his own discoveries and Descartes was unable to publish his last work. The question of the human soul was left to theology to solve or to a philosophy which had not yet

liberated itself from the fetters of theology Consequently, science entered upon its new road under very nebulous circumstances as regards its general attitude toward life None of the intellectual movements succeeded, later on, in finding a solution We have had to take over the entire burden of this legacy "

"It appears to be the mission of our epoch," continued the German minister, "to resolve the crisis which confronted the 17th Century In the intervening centuries, science has naturally been forging ahead while avoiding any clash with its adversaries But it has become palpable to all today that this advance has itself made further evasion impossible Seventeenth and eighteenth century science was a science of the *Cosmos* Following the first shock resulting from the destruction of the geocentric perception of the world, the adversaries of science gave free scope to the exploration of the Cosmos Even the doctrine of evolution failed to bring about a fundamental change in the situation This change, in fact, did not occur until science began to concern itself with the conception of race and with the principles of biology The question relating to the Cosmos had allowed itself to be neutralised, the question relating to *Mankind, now put in a different form, had now to be resolved in the light of new* knowledge Just as the Seventeenth Century was characterised by the struggle to acquire a true conception of the Cosmos, in the same way, the present era is charac terised by the struggle to acquire a true conception of Mankind

Racial consciousness, long buried beneath the surface has been resuscitated by National Socialism as the source of our entire existence Science, in particular, has received a new impetus through this discovery which removes the partition wall that, in the past epochs, had separated the kingdom of the Intellect from that of Nature A new evaluation of the sciences has now become perceptible Differences which had their origin in the doctrine of a spiritual and a material world both governed by their own laws have been swept away with the overthrow of this doctrine Racial science demands a totalitarian and realistic approach to life "

The part played by these new conceptions in the reorganisation of Germany's educational system is becoming more and more apparent, especially in the creation of a new relationship between teacher and scholar and in the selection of the members of the college and university staffs which now occurs in accord ance with a uniform plan

Special provision has been taken to build up a younger generation of scientists A decree promulgated in December 1934 provides that due regard is paid to the National Socialist principle of placing the main emphasis, not on intellectual attainments, but on character Nobody in Germany is allowed to teach unless he or she has been admitted as a full qualified academical teacher into the faculty Admission, however, is open to all, provided the candidate has fulfilled the *preliminary condition* of spending some time in a community camp This latter condition has been enforced in order to establish the unity of State and Movement

Of decisive importance was the unity of command established in November 1937 between the leader of the German Students' Association and the leader of the National Socialist Students' Union These two student organisations are now controlled by the Reich Student Leader, Dr Scheel Every German student is now obliged to spend at least three terms at one and the same college or uni versity The reason for this lies in the demand for an organisation of students

into groups and teams The lectures themselves are also designed in a way to strengthen character and will power The students are expected to take an active part in the government of college affairs and to participate in the Reich Sporting Contests organised by the German youth movement Economic assistance is provided for by an enactment of July 1938

New chairs of learning have been founded in most of the universities throughout the Reich, sixtyfive in Prussia alone They embrace, in the main, faculties for military science, racial science, prehistory, early history, ethnology Independent departments have been established in the technical colleges for the study of military science, including special course in aeronautical science and research

The Reich Research Council, founded in the year 1937, has taken over supreme control of all establishments throughout the Reich engaged on research work It has the special task of promoting those sciences whose services have been enlisted in the carrying out of the Four Years Plan It works in collaboration with the German Research Society which devotes its special attention to the field of the mental sciences Of the newly created institutes, mention should be made of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics, devoted in the main to research of the atom, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Biophysics, devoted to plant research

As regards those establishments devoted to the mental sciences, the Reich Commission for Historical Studies, which betrayed a lack of any definite *Weltanschauung* in planning the history of the Reich since 1867, was dissolved in the year 1935 at the suggestion of the government Its place has been taken by the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, presided over by Professor Walter Frank Its task is to study and interpret the epoch between the French and the National Socialist revolutions The Reich Institute for Ancient German History, which was founded to continue the former *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, has been entrusted with the work of studying the history of Germany in the Middle Ages and of publishing the sources of our knowledge of this period By a decree issued jointly by the Ministries of Education and Agriculture there has been brought into existence the Agricultural Research Service whose purpose is to enlist the sciences in the service of the plan of national nutrition The Reich Society for Regional and National Planning has, in the same way, been formed to enlist all branches of science in the service of systematic planning In the domain of library work, supreme importance attaches to the creation of the Complete German Catalogue to embrace the entire intellectual and cultural legacy The number of libraries collaborating in this work has increased from 26 to 102 The cooperation of the Austrian libraries was brought about even before the Anschluss In the meantime, arrangements have been made at Germany's suggestion for an international exchange of library works

In the sphere of art education, it will suffice to mention a few of the new establishments brought into existence, namely, the State High School for Art Training, in Schoneberg, Berlin the College for the Training of Musicians, in Berlin, and the United State Schools for Fine and Applied Art Considerable

significance attaches to the reorganisation and extension of the public library system in Germany. Since the year 1937, a public library has to be established in each commune claiming five hundred inhabitants. Upwards of 4,000 new public libraries had been established from the time of the advent of National Socialism to power down to the year 1937, in which year alone more than 1,000 libraries were founded or re-organised. In the matter of adult education, continuation courses for adults are now held everywhere in close cooperation with Party, state and municipal bodies.

The complete reform of the German system of education and cultural training brought about by the National Socialist revolution can only be given here in its broad outlines. The reform is still in progress, for it stands to reason that nowhere has the influence of the National Socialist philosophy been more profound than in the domain of education.

XIX.

The New German Culture

Our tour of the new Germany now brings us to the domain of the Director of the Propaganda of the National Socialist Movement, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, who is at the same time Reich Propaganda Minister, the most effective orator and the most skilful polemic among Hitler's collaborators, whose eloquence and energy not only largely contributed to the development of the movement, but also exert much influence on German policy to-day, It is, therefore, not inopportune to give a few biographical details concerning this remarkable young National Socialist Minister.

Dr. Goebbels, born forty years ago in the town of Rheydt in the Rhineland, descends from an old stock of Westphalian peasants and small bourgeois. After attending the primary and secondary schools in Rheydt, he studied history, art, literature, and philology, successively, at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg-in-Baden, Würzburg, Munich, Cologne, Berlin, Heidelberg. He graduated Doctor of Philosophy at the last-named university in 1920.

Two years later, Dr. Goebbels became acquainted in Munich with the recently founded National Socialist party, which he joined as a result of hearing Hitler speak at a meeting. He began his activities by propagating the movement among the students, subsequently founding the first local groups of the party under various *noms de guerre* in the Rhineland and the Ruhr district, although these regions were at the time occupied by foreign troops. He had his headquarters in the little town of Hattingen, in the Ruhr basin, whence he was expelled by the French authorities in 1924. Dr. Goebbels then settled in Elberfeld, where he edited the newspaper *Völkische Freiheit.* Later on he founded the *Nationalsozialistische Briefe*, destined to serve as an organ for elucidating the programme of the National Socialist party. In the same year 1924 he became party leader for the Rhine-Ruhr region.

His natural gift for attracting the masses soon aroused attention. Hitler, whose ambition it was to win over the capital of the Reich to the National Socialist ideal, appointed "Our Doctor", as he familiarly called Goebbels, to the leadership of the Berlin district in 1926.

Here a task as dangerous as it was difficult awaited Goebbels. He did not, however, hesitate for a single moment. He built up the organisation and then proceeded to engage in the spiritual struggle for the soul of the people on the banks of the Spree, and a determined campaign against Marxist influence. Goebbels founded a National Socialist paper *Der Angriff*, which at first appeared

weekly, but in consequence of its success soon became a daily paper Although the SA detachments in the Berlin region had been suppressed by the Government, Goebbels was able to send 700 SA men to the National Socialist Party congress in Nuremberg in 1927 Fifty of these men, who were unemployed marched on foot from Berlin to Nuremberg But although on their way home the entire detachment of 700 was arrested, the struggle for the possession of the "Soul of Berlin" had already been decided

In 1928, Goebbels was elected for the first time to the Reichstag, to which he was returned for the second time at the memorable elections of October, 1930, when the strength of the National Socialist Party was for the first time revealed to the world by the election of 107 candidates

In 1929, Goebbels was appointed leader of the entire Reich propaganda of the National Socialist Party Despite the manifold duties henceforth incumbent on him as head of the Party's propaganda department, as regional leader, as editor and orator, he invariably found time to perform his varied work thanks to his exceptional gifts as a speaker, to his brilliant qualities as a journalist, and to his genius for organisation I have often had the occasion, in the course of personal conversations, to admire alike his conversational talents and his power of work Hence his success, far from surprising me, seems to me the natural consequence of his many sided abilities

In the spring of 1931 the entire group of National Socialist deputies in the Reichstag after listening to a speech by Goebbels, demonstratively left the House to the accompaniment of the singing of the Horst Wessel anthem The deputies betook themselves to the densely packed Sport Palace, where Goebbels declared before an enthusiastic audience "We have now reached the third stage of our oppositional movement We are about to take over the reins of power" On May 1 of the same year Goebbels was able to celebrate a "jubilee" of 75 months' imprisonment passed on him within three months In a cinema theatre in the fashionable west end of Berlin, the film of Remarque's book *Im Westen nichts Neues* ("All Quiet on the Western Front") gave rise to noisy street demonstrations which had the effect of taking the film off the screen Shortly before Christmas, 1931, Goebbels was again impeached for high treason

The period immediately preceding the advent to power of the National Socialist regime naturally placed great demands on Goebbels, who, however, earned his reward on January 30, 1933 After the victory of the National Socialist cause the newly created Reich Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda was confided to Goebbels

Apart from articles contributed almost daily by him to the Press, Goebbels has published a number of books and brochures of which *Der unbekannte SA Mann Michael, Das Buch Isidor, Kampf um Berlin, Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei*, are among the best known

Already during the struggle for power in 1932, the constitution of a Reich Propaganda Ministry had been discussed, and its details had been drawn up by Hitler and Goebbels, with the result that on March 13 1933 shortly after

the advent of the Party to power, the Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda—a novelty in the history of Germany or any other country—was established. The functions of the new Ministry were defined by a Decree of June 30, 1933, as comprising the news service, propaganda at home and abroad, the organisation of national festivals and other public rejoicings, the Press, the broadcasting service, advertising, cinemas, the fight against obnoxious literature, and—what is especially important— the entire realm of art with but few exceptions. (See Pict. 177.)

How is the connection between "national enlightenment" and "propaganda" to be explained? The answer is furnished by the first paragraph of the aforementioned Decree which states that the Reich Minister for National Enlightenment and Propaganda is competent for all tasks involving the exertion of moral influence on the nation. National enlightenment is by its nature passive; propaganda, on the contrary, is by its nature active. The two must consequently complete each other in order to achieve their common object.

What was the reason which prompted the creation of such a Ministry, which revolutionised all preconceived ideas? Dr. Goebbels himself replied to this question in the following statement made to the Press a few days after his appointment:—

"I see in the newly established Ministry a link between the Government and the people, the living contact between the National Government as the expression of the popular will, on the one hand, and the people themselves, on the other ... I do not think that we could have attained our aim with a Parliamentary majority of 52%[1]). A Government which is called upon to take such farreaching and decisive measures could not hope to find in the nation that durable support which it needs if it had contented itself with such a result. A Government faced by such a task must carry out the necessary propaganda to attract the entire nation ... Practical work alone does not suffice for that purpose; such practical work must be explained to the nation."

During fourteen years of struggle, National Socialists had learned to appreciate the value of national enlightenment and propaganda. It may well be asked what would have happened to the movement, confronted as it was by so many obstacles and such concentrated hostility, had it not exerted a continuous powerful psychological influence on the soul of the nation. It was thus natural that the exertion of this influence should have continued after the advent of the Party to power, and that its organisation should have been confided to the man who had revealed himself an expert in this important political domain. As Goebbels himself said: "The new Ministry has no other object than that of assuring the unity of the nation in the service of the national revolution. Once this aim is realised, my critics may sit in judgment on my methods. But that would be devoid of importance, since those methods will have achieved their object."

The various plebiscites which had yielded majorities of nearly 100% proved the success of the methods adopted. Hence the Propaganda Ministry might have shut its doors if it had not been absolutely necessary to continue the work of

[1] Result of the Reichstag elections of March 5, 1933.

panions in the struggle and formerly his adviser in economic questions—was entrusted with the functions of Secretary of State of the newly founded Ministry This active and farsighted man was invariably a valuable collaborator of Dr Goebbels in the carrying out of their common task In December, 1937, Funk was appointed Minister of Economy and was replaced in the Ministry of Propa ganda by the two Secretaries of State Hanke and Dietrich

Work is apportioned between the various sections of the Ministry of Propa ganda as follows —

Section I (Administration) All questions relating to internal organisation, to the staff, to finance, to legislation, to printing and other technical details

Section II (Propaganda) Active propaganda—e g organisation of the national festival on May 1, organisation of the winter help work and of the propaganda on behalf of "Mother and Child", etc This section is also concerned with questions related to the Labour Service in so far as such questions are connected with propaganda On it is also the task of organising anti communist and anti reactionary propaganda and of encouraging tourist traffic, in this connection it may be recalled that it was this section which carried out the elaborate preparations for the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936

Section III (Broadcasting) This section is responsible for all German radio stations, as well as for the broadcasting of political speeches and meetings It has to provide the necessary broadcasting apparatus for the annual party congress in Nuremberg and for all other party meetings and demonstrations It has also to assist in every possible manner the technical and cultural develop ment of broadcasting in Germany

Section IV (Press) serves the Reich Government as Press Department Hence the head of this section is at the same time Deputy Head of the Reich Press The sphere of activity of this section comprises everything connected with the organisation of the news service The section is divided into three sub sections, those of the German Press, the foreign Press, and the wireless news service respectively The activities of these three sub sections may be resumed as follows —

a) the German Press sub section deals with all questions concerning internal policy and the German Press In the course of daily Press conferences, the news forthcoming from the various Reich Ministries is transmitted to the Press repre sentatives, whilst at the same time current political questions are discussed and answers given to enquiries On the other hand, the sub section informs the different Reich Government departments of the views of the German Press It is its duty to establish a close and fruitful contact between Press and Govern ment The method of treatment in the German Press of all problems, whether political or economic or cultural or technical, is finally settled within the sub section Every morning the events of the day are recorded in a detailed report drawn up for the benefit of the Head of the Reich Press, Secretary of State Dr Dietrich who on the basis of that document makes his own daily report to Chancellor Hitler

b) The Foreign Press sub section has the task of keeping in contact with the Press of other countries A large staff of readers studies the Press of the whole world and keeps all the Reich Ministries informed of foreign opinion on Germany and on the measures taken by the German Government The sub section communicates to the Ministries extracts from articles of interest to Germany, and at the same time informs the accredited representatives of foreign newspapers in Germany of political developments in that country A further task of this sub section is to facilitate visits to Germany of foreign Press reporters

c) The wireless news sub section has the duty of extracting and transmitting to the German broadcasting stations the most interesting items from out of the vast mass of news accumulated each day An excellent news service, fitted out with all the most modern technical instruments, connects the sub-section with all radio stations Its transmissions are also listened to with great interest abroad, since they afford the best possibility of speedy information concerning political events in Germany and the views of the German Government

Section V (Film) ensures that the tendency of German films shall correspond to the fundamental German outlook on life It also ensures that German films shall be produced according to the latest and best methods, and that the production of really good films shall be properly encouraged

Section VI (Theatre) performs a similar duty in the realm of the theatre Its competence extends to the supervision of the four Reich theatres—namely, the German Opera House, the German Theatre, the People's Theatre, and the *Volksbuhne*, all of them in Berlin This section as well as Section V, has at its disposal a dramatic critic appointed by the Reich The duty is incumbent on both sections of directing and supervising film and theatrical production from a cultural point of view, so as to prevent lapses from good taste and to afford openings for really talented actors

Section VII (Foreign Countries) has the duty of replying to attacks on Germany, of refuting calumnies by establishing the real facts, and of collecting the necessary evidence to combat hostile propaganda directed against the Reich

Section VIII (Literature) has the object of encouraging literary production in Germany and of furthering the circulation of good books among the masses The motto of this section is "the book is a sword of the intellect"

Section IX (Plastic Art and Art Handicraft) This section is mainly occupied with the organisation of art exhibitions, fairs, and competitions, and with the fostering of popular art The section also seeks to familiarise foreign countries with German art, either by the organisation of independent exhibitions or by a participation of German artists in international exhibitions

Section X (Music) devotes its activities to the development of German music whether in concerts or in the home Its methods consist in encouraging the work of recognised German composers and orchestras, as well as the efforts of promising young composers, and, in general, in developing the love of good music among the rising generation The organisation of musical festivals and competitions, as well as all questions relating to folk music, such as community singing,

also belong to its domain. The section has also the duty of making German music known abroad, by sending there the most distinguished German artists and by arranging concerts in which German compositions play a prominent part; and also by inviting leading foreign artists to Germany.

Section XI has the task of developing the schemes for the furtherance of "popular cultural work" elaborated by the National Socialist organisation "Strength through Joy" (KdF.) and by the "International Central Office of Joy and Work." It may be recalled, in this connection, that the two great cultural organisations created by the National Socialist movement were originally KdF. and the "National Socialist Cultural Community" (*Kulturgemeinde*). The latter has since been absorbed in the former.

The Reich Ministry of Propaganda has no fewer than 38 offices in the Reich, so that it is in a position to be constantly informed of all questions interesting it which may arise. The Ministry has thus also the possibility of taking rapid decisions according as circumstances may dictate them.

The Reich Chamber of Culture

Under the terms of a law dated September 22, 1933, the Reich Minister of Propaganda was empowered to organise the members of all those branches of activity comprised in the domain of his Ministry, in corporations possessing a legal status. Seven such corporations, or Chambers, have been created in consequence: those of Music, Plastic Art, Literature, the Press, the Theatre, Broadcasting, and the Film. These seven Chambers, in their turn, are united in a Reich Chamber of Culture, over which the Reich Minister of Propaganda personally presides.

The preamble to the law in question states:—

"It is the duty of the State to combat all influences which are detrimental to culture and to encourage, on the other hand, those that are valuable, conformably with the consciousness of its responsibility towards the national community. The same criterion applies to the creations of the artist himself, which within this limitation may remain individualistic and independent. But the pursuit of a German cultural policy in the true sense of the word renders it necessary to unite artists, authors, and journalists, in a common will under the direction of the Reich."

On November 15, 1933, the Reich Chamber of Culture was solemnly inaugurated in the Philharmonic Hall in Berlin by Dr. Goebbels in the presence of Chancellor Hitler. In his opening speech, Dr. Goebbels, after having defined the aims of the newly created Chamber, said:—

"Culture is the highest expression of the creative forces of a nation and the artist is its qualified inspirer. It would be a fallacy to suppose that he could fulfil his mission without reference to his own nation, since that mission is in reality destined for the latter and since the force thanks to which the artist has laboured is derived from his nation. We have once more liberated the creative forces of the German nation, which can henceforth develop freely without let or hindrance, and thus abundantly fertilise the soil on which new generations will be reared."

Secretary of State Funk was appointed Vice-President of the Reich Chamber of Culture, which held its first sitting in Berlin on November 23, 1933

No member of the Reich Chamber of Culture may belong to a Chamber of Industry, Commerce, or Handicraft, or to the German retail traders' organisation, thus ensuring the purely cultural character of the new institution The most important measure concerning the Chamber of Culture taken in 1934—i e before its first annual meeting, at which Dr Goebbels gave a review of its activities during the preceding twelve months—was the measure enacting its incorporation in the National Socialist State and Party, of both of which it henceforth formed an integral part At the same time, simultaneously with the appointment of State Commissary Hans Hinkel as managing director of the Reich Chamber of Culture, a Decree was issued ordering the expulsion of all non-Aryans from its various component Chambers and their transfer to the Jewish cultural associations

On the occasion of the second annual meeting of the Chamber of Culture, Dr Goebbels was able to point to a remarkable increase of its activity, an increase which definitely marked the close of the preliminary era of organisation At the same time he announced the creation of a Reich Cultural Senate, which had been provided for in the above mentioned law The Senate, composed of the Vice President of the Chamber of Culture, of the Presidents of the seven Chambers constituting it, and of other high officials, as well as of a number of eminent personalities in the various domains of art, literature, and journalism, was destined to assist the Chamber of Culture in its deliberations and decisions Dr Goebbels said —

"We have waited two years before establishing this Reich Cultural Senate and we had sound reasons for doing so, since the Senate is destined to be, not an ephemeral, but a permanent, institution comprising all the luminaries of German cultural life who will henceforth constitute the forum at the bar of which German culture will receive its definite shape and organisation"

Alongside the "Cultural Regional Week" organised at Essen at the end of November, the most important event in the history of the Reich Chamber of Culture in 1935 was the Congress of Art Critics of the German Press in December. At a reception which took place in connection with the Congress, Dr. Goebbels exposed for the first time the fundamental attitude of the National Socialist State towards art critics and art criticism in general

At the second meeting of the Reich Cultural Senate on April 4, 1936, in Berlin, speeches were made by Dr. Goebbels and others, and a number of leading personalities in State and Party were elected members At the sitting of the Reich Chamber of Culture in Berlin on May 1, 1936, on the occasion of the National Festival of Labour, the two national prizes were awarded in the presence of Chancellor Hitler, the prize for the best film being given to Karl Froelich, and that for the best book to Gerhard Schumann

Notable evidence of the importance attached by National Socialism to the furtherance of culture was furnished by the creation of the *Kunstlerdank* (or Artists' Benevolent Fund) amounting to 2,000,000 marks on the tenth anniversary

of the foundation of Party branch headquarters in Berlin, on October 29, 1936, which was also the thirty-ninth birthday of Dr. Goebbels. The administrative committee of the Fund met for the first time on November 6, 1936, and drew up the rules for the distribution of grants. On the same day a Decree signed by Dr. Goebbels instituted a new system of assistance for actors and actresses in case of distress and in their old age.

At the end of 1936 the Chamber of Culture held its third annual meeting jointly with the National Socialist organisation "Strength through Joy" (KdF.). Dr. Goebbels in a speech pointed out that the Chamber was now in a position to fulfil its aim of "directing culture without manufacturing it". The artist again occupied his place amidst the people and contributed to the reconstruction of the nation. The various sections forming the Chamber of Culture educated their members in the sense of developing their personal consciousness, their discipline, and their honour. But over and above that, the Chamber had the duty of satisfying the material needs of artists, of protecting them in their old age, of providing for them in times of sickness or other distrees. After having resumed the progress accomplished from all these points of view by the Chamber of Culture, Dr. Goebbels stressed the fact that its annual meeting was this time held jointly with KdF. Expression was thus clearly given to the obligation incumbent on the artist to regard it as a matter of honour to address himself directly to the people as such, and to establish a direct relationship between art and the nation.

According to Dr. Goebbels, however, difficulties still existed which prevented for the time being the laying-down of rules for the pursuit of a homogeneous policy in respect of culture. A difficult question was that of bringing back art criticism to its only really legitimate task of "dissertation on art"; for art criticism still bore traces of the influence of a now outlived era. Dr. Goebbels went on to say that he had decided to issue a decree prohibiting art criticism altogether, and substituting for it dissertations on, or descriptions of, art. This did not imply suppression of freedom of opinion. But an opinion should only be published if the person professing it was entitled by his knowledge and capacity to exercise the right to judge the work of others. Art would not suffer by the disappearance of criticism, since fictitious values had an inevitable tendency to rapidly disappear, whilst real values must be protected against irresponsible attacks.

Another difficult question was that of erotic art. Sexual problems could only form the subject of plastic representation on condition that such representation conformed to good taste. A healthy sensualism was to be welcomed. Artistic productions giving expression to such healthy sensualism had always appealed more to the eye than to the ear.

What is often called "primitive art" was by no means synonymous with lack of taste, said Dr. Goebbels, and everyone had not a sufficient comprehension of music to be able to appreciate a Wagnerian opera. Hence it was necessary that more simple forms of music should exist, and the creators of those forms rendered a useful service to the nation. It was the duty of the State to protect and encourage art—indeed, to become its Maecenas. It was also incumbent on

the State to provide for artists in their old age The creation of the *Kunstlerdank* marked the beginning of a great work destined to comprise all artists within its scope

In April, 1938, Dr Goebbels dissolved the ties which had united various departments of the Ministry of Propaganda with the offices of the Reich Chamber of Culture whilst the latter was in process of organisation In future, the various cultural chambers will confine their activities to promoting the interests of their members whereas the Ministry will attend to all the political and cultural-political matters

Speaking at the annual gala session of the Chamber of Culture held on May 1, 1938 in the German Opera House, Dr Goebbels refuted assertions which had appeared in foreign newspapers to the effect that Germany's economic and political renascence would be counterbalanced by a cultural decline Notwithstanding the fact, he said, that the German people had become a people of engineers and road builders, of political organisers and orators, of inventors and constructors, of military captains and instructors, it had not ceased to be a genuine *Kulturvolk* No other land was doing so much for the promotion of the plastic arts, architecture, literature, theatre and film Monumental buildings were arising to testify to the grandeur of this epoch The flowering time of German political life is paving the way for an unforeseen outburst of cultural activity in Germany Thus, for instance, in the year 1937 the "Strength through Joy" movement was able to swell the ranks of theatre goers by 13 5 million, the number of owners of radio sets mounted in one year alone from 8 4 to 9 5 million and the sale of cinema tickets rose from 235 million in 1932 to 400 million in the past year A sum of 5 2 million marks has been paid out to artists employed on projects financed from public funds The past year has seen the publication of 25,361 new literary works In all 750 new people's libraries have been established Alongside of this, generous support has been given to artists themselves Provision has been made for looking after those members of the acting profession who, in advanced years find themselves in want of assistance, and there is hope that, in the near future, provision of this sort will be extended to include all creative artists

Dr Goebbels then announced the winners of the Film and Book awards for 1937/38 The German Film Prize was awarded to Leni Riefenstahl for "Olympia" The German Book Prize was awarded to an anthology of verse "*Das Lied der Getreuen*" written by anonymous members of the Austrian Hitler Youth during the years of persecution from 1933 to 1937, and edited by Baldur von Schirach The money award, ordinarily 12 000 marks, was raised to 200 000 marks and was used entirely for the erection of youth hostels

The Results Obtained

The results obtained thanks to the collaboration of the Ministry of Propaganda and the Reich Chamber of Culture, in the political and cultural spheres respectively, were defined by Dr Goebbels as follows "theatres which were

formerly empty, or which had even closed down, have again become centres of intellectual and artistic culture, and a joyful emulation reigns between them. The German film has proved its excellence by a number of really admirable productions. The German Press, which only a few years ago was in the service of a destructive cosmopolitan ideology or of uncontrollable capitalist interests, now represents, thanks to German journalists, German aims and ideals. Literature has been thoroughly purged of those elements which in the days of national degradation brought about the collapse of German spiritual life. German plastic artists have been assigned new tasks and are now able to develop their creative activity. Monuments of hitherto unknown dimensions, thousands of miles of new motor-roads, indicate the progress already made by German architecture. The concert halls are again filled with lovers of music, and gifted young persons of both sexes are endeavouring to reintroduce the traditional principles of musical art whether as regards melody or harmony.

Thanks to broadcasting, millions of hardworking Germans oppressed by heavy cares are daily kept in touch with the manifold pulsations of their national life. Art has penetrated into the nation, and the nation has found its way back to art." (See Picts. 179, 180.)[1]

Such a description by the responsible Minister for Propaganda might, to say the least, sound strangely optimistic, if details and figures were not available to prove their accuracy.

Let us take, for instance, one of the most modern branches of culture—namely, the film. The Film Chamber, created in July, 1933, and which has since developed into the Reich Film Chamber, has served as a model for all the other sections of the Reich Chamber of Culture. The Reich Film Chamber to-day comprises all persons participating in the production of films, with the exception of their authors and the composers of their music, who belong by right either to the Chamber of Literature or to the Chamber of Music. Included in the Reich Film Chamber are the following technical groups: production, propaganda at home, cinema theatres, cultural and advertising films, film technique, and the film industry. The Chamber has founded the Film Credit Bank, which has the important task of financing those films which are considered important from a political, cultural, or artistic point of view. The activity of the Reich Film Chamber has been marked by a series of important measures with the object of placing the seriously endangered film industry on a new and solid basis. Mention should be made in this connection of the decrees concerning quotas, the suppression of overloaded programmes, the regulation of admission prices, the encouragement of cultural films, the reorganisation of employment agencies, and the repartition of production in the course of any given year.

After the creation of a sound economic foundation, it has been possible for the German film to achieve great progress alike from an artistic and a cultural

[1] The German Government ordered on June 3, 1938, the confiscation of all products of decadent art, including those in possession of art galleries throughout the country. No compensation was paid to the owners of these products. The government order did not apply to Austria.

point of view This progress found its reward at the International Film Exhibition in Venice in 1936, where the German film obtained the Mussolini Trophy, the prize offered by the Luce National Institute, the prize of the Theatre Institute, and no fewer than five medals The number of visitors to cinema theatres in Germany increased from 235 millions to 351 millions in 1936, the total receipts increased during the same period from 176 to 220 million marks Between September, 1934, and the end of 1936, no less than 369 new cinema theatres were opened and 92 re opened Whereas production in the studios had been reduced to an average of 238 days during the so called "dead season" in 1932, it had risen to 518 in 1936 Hence the repartition of production over the whole year shows an improvement of over 100% in the utilisation of studios and employment

Producers of German films, who number about 80, supply annually between 140 and 160 big films in German and other languages, some 400 cultural and educational films, and upwards of 600 industrial and advertising films A capital of at least 500,000,000 marks is to day invested in the German film industry, which employs upwards of 50 000 persons In addition, some 450,000,000 marks are invested in 5271 cinema theatres which, in their turn, give employment to approximately 25 000 persons These figures speak for themselves

It should be noted that the International Film Congress in Berlin in 1936 decided to found an International Film Chamber on the German model and elected a German as its first president

Immediately following the annual session of the Reich Film Chamber on March 4, 1938, at which Dr Goebbels dealt with a series of problems affecting German film production, there occurred at the film city of Babelsberg, near Potsdam, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the German Film Academy This academy is to comprise three faculties to cover the artistic, technical and economic sides of film production To it will be affiliated an Institute for the Production of Documentary and Educational Films Apart from its function of training a new generation of film artists and film workers it will later on possess a research institute Its paramount task, however, will be to ensure that, in future, German films will be produced in accordance with the guiding principles of National Socialist philosophy (see Pict 178)

The Reich Broadcasting Chamber has, already in the course of four years, succeeded in more than doubling the number of listeners which, after nine years, had attained a total of barely 4,000,000 when the new regime came into power In April 1937, Germany counted 8,511,995 listeners and took the first place among European countries in this respect Thus proves the success of the efforts made to mobilise the masses of the population in favour of the radio Success was largely due to the introduction of the "people's receiver", which owing to its cheapness and to the facilities for payment granted to the purchasers, is placed within reach of everyone Some 2,500,000 of these receiving sets have been sold But the widespread popularity of the German radio is mainly attributable to the fact that its programmes really appeal to the people Capable men, who

are themselves familiar with the masses and able to speak their language, stand to-day before the microphone with the certainty that they will be understood and appreciated. It should be noted that on the occasion of the annual Broadcasting Exhibition in Berlin radio broadcasting is placed almost exclusively at the disposal of non-professional members of the community.

The so-called "interval broadcasts" have constituted an important innovation in the domain of broadcasting. These broadcasts which are scheduled so as to coincide with recreation time in factories are destined to afford agreeable relaxation to the workers and to encourage them to buy their own apparatus with the object of enlivening their evenings at home. The whole economy of broadcasting profits thereby, all the more so since in addition to the people's receiver another product of the broadcasting industry known as the DAF. (i. e. German Labour Front) receiver is recommended as the apparatus *par excellence* for community listening. The Broadcasting Chamber has at the same time proposed the introduction of an overseas receiving set for the benefit of Germans living abroad. The development of transportable receivers for outdoor use is also encouraged in high quarters in order to buoy up the radio market during the slack summer months.

Evidence of the close cooperation between the management and the economy of broadcasting is furnished, not only by the great German Broadcasting Exhibition held annually in Berlin, but by the numerous local exhibitions organised in various parts of the Reich. Numerous propaganda cars are also sent by the Reich Broadcasting Chamber to rural districts in order to familiarise the countryfolk with the radio. During the last nine months of 1936, these cars covered a total distance of 60,000 kilometres.

A competitive examination for broadcasters serves to develop the feeling of solidarity which unites the public and the radio, with the result that the latter has practically become a national institution in Germany to-day.

The activity of the stage in Germany has been considerably augmented as a result of the work accomplished by the Reich Theatre Chamber. Whereas, prior to 1933, the State-owned theatres, even in Berlin, were faced by ruin, Germany to-day counts no fewer than 159 theatres owned respectively by the Reich, the provinces, and the municipalities, to say nothing of theatres run by various cultural organisations, 45 large itinerant theatres, and 46 private ones. These big theatres, numbering approximately 250, are supplemented by 81 smaller undertakings. Operas are performed in more than 90 big theatres. Germany thus boasts an incomparably greater number of theatres than any other country in Europe. The number of artists engaged, compared alike with the audiences and the number of theatres, is between 70 and 80% greater than the number engaged in German theatres outside the frontiers of the Reich.

The Reich Theatre Chamber has to decide a number of important questions. For instance, in order to prevent hopelessly unprofitable undertakings being started by speculators or other adventurers, the Chamber has enacted that

nobody may open a new theatre without its authorisation. This authorisation is only given to persons who can prove their suitableness alike as regards their moral character, their artistic capacity, and the soundness of their economic position. Among other things, proof of a sufficient working capital is required. A certain sum must also be deposited with the Chamber as security to meet the claims of the artists and employees in the event of financial collapse. Special courts of arbitration are appointed to decide all economic and artistic questions which may arise.

Engagements are made through the medium of the theatrical employment agency, the services of which are gratuitous. Prospective young artists are required to pass entrance examinations; in cases in which a candidate shows exceptional promise, he is taken under the wing of the professional organisation *Die Bühne*, which interests itself in his future career. The creation of a Theatrical Academy for specially gifted young artists is planned.

Reich, provinces, and municipalities have thus been substituted for private patrons of art, the number of whom had, moreover, rapidly decreased since the War. The new patrons spend large sums annually to assure the existence of the theatres and to popularise them among the masses. Mention has already been made of the activity of the KdF. organisation, which aims at rendering the theatres accessible to the poorer classes of the population. Lots are drawn for seats in all KdF. theatres in order to eliminate favouritism.

The theatres seek to attract the public by the most varied means which include—besides regular theatrical performances—local festivals, "cultural weeks", concerts, special broadcasting programmes, variety performances, etc. Among the most brilliant achievements of stage-playing in contemporary Germany are the annual Festival Plays in Heidelberg Castle, the annual Wagner Festival Plays in Bayreuth, and (since 1936) the performances of the Dietrich Eckart Open Air Theatre at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin.

A Reich Theatre Festival Week constitutes the crowning-point of every season in the Reich theatres. This Festival Week takes place alternately in the different cities. It is marked by meetings of the Chamber of Culture, and by gala performances of operas and plays which furnish conclusive evidence of the high level reached by German theatrical art since its liberation from Jewish influence.

An important part in the resuscitation of the German theatre has been played by the department of dramatic art criticism attached to the Reich Propaganda Ministry. On this department devolves the duty of supervising the programmes of the various theatres, of appreciating the plays submitted for consideration, of advising authors and publishers and theatre managers, and of encouraging valuable artistic work. The art critic is not a censor; his task is to help, and to serve as guide for creative talents.

A census for the season 1935/6—which, however, embraced scarcely one-half of the larger theatres—showed that 124 different operettas had been performed (25 of them for the first time). The number of operas exceeded that of the operettas, and no fewer than twelve operas were produced for the first time—

a highly respectable record in view of the expense involved. In regard to plays, the figures are much higher. Thus over 400 different plays (dramas, comedies, farcical plays) were performed, more than 130 for the first time.

The task which the German theatres, with their 20,000 artists, have to face is a difficult one, and it must be admitted by every impartial observer that the task has been satisfactorily accomplished. The "German Cultural Week" organised in Paris on the occasion of the World Exhibition of 1937 furnished the proof of this assertion to audiences drawn from all countries.

The special task incumbent on the Chamber of Plastic Arts is the encouragement of artistic talent and the creation of works of art of lasting value. The architects belonging to the Chamber are called upon to assist in the creation of rural settlements, military barracks, aviation camps, and workers' dwellings. An entirely new sphere of activity has been opened to landscape architects by the construction of new buildings of all kinds and of the new Reich motor-roads, whereby it should be borne in mind that the State has at its disposal large sums for the furtherance of the plastic arts in connection with public enterprises. Numerous competitions are organised every year for architects and landscape designers; whilst a number of individual orders are placed annually with the aim of encouraging the production and sale of works of art. In addition, a large number of pictures are bought every year by the Reich. The measures of social welfare taken by the Chamber of Plastic Arts comprise, among others, the grant of entirely gratuitous pleasure trips lasting a fortnight to more than 1000 artists; assistance in cases of emergency and distress; the grant of old-age pensions, and of pensions to widows and children.

The magnificent House of German Art in Munich does not only bear testimony to the grandiose conceptions and power of realisation of German architecture; it likewise affords an incomparable setting for exhibitions, the earnings of which, amounting to several million marks annually, are destined to enable German artists to devote themselves, free from all economic anxieties, to their art. As a result of the suggestion made by Dr. Goebbels that whoever placed an order for the construction of new buildings or new plant should contribute a small percentage of the cost to the purchase of works of art, whether sculpture or paintings, a sum of about seven million marks has already been subscribed.

After five years of Nationalism Socialism, is it permissible to speak of the new style in German architecture? In my opinion the question may be answered affirmatively. A number of examples of this highly characteristic style could be cited.

In contradistinction to the experiments, mostly of a somewhat convulsive nature, made in former years, National Socialism did not aim at innovating at all costs in the domain of architecture. On the contrary, it desired a return to sound traditions, since there is of course no reason for rejecting *a priori* the creations of the past under the pretext that those creations were the product of other conditions of life. On the other hand, it is the duty of the nation which

has created immortal works of art in the past to endeavour to adapt its artistic tradition to the new environment resulting from social evolution.

The principle tradition of German art, which it is now sought to renew, had its source in classical art, that has never ceased to exert its profound influence alike in the sphere of moral inspiration and in the reproduction of external forms. German art has never contented itself with merely copying classical art. German architects have invariably seen in the great creations of the past the expression of ideals similar to their own. The finest creations of Greek and German art were in harmony, not only with the respective moral and intellectual, but also with the respective external surroundings of the artist. The German countryside, whether considered as a whole or in its regional diversities, constitutes the common patrimony and the common source of inspiration of German artists, in the same way as the Attic landscape inspired the masters of Attic art.

These considerations apply not only to architectural design, but also to the building material employed. The stone extracted from German soil forms an organic part of the countryside. Germany possesses a manifold variety of building stones, remarkable alike for their hardness and the variety of their colours, and also a long tradition of skill in the manner of their employment.

Conformably with tradition, much importance is attached in contemporary Germany to developing the capacity of all workers in the building trade, whether masons or stonecutters or carpenters, not less than that of iron-founders or sculptors. The shaping of the various parts of the building, in which in bygone ages the entire community participated, provides a fruitful source of creative suggestions. Thus the time-honoured ideal of "community building" has been revived, for the benefit alike of designers, artisans, modellers, and all others connected with the art of building.

But in apparent opposition to tradition the forces of the new era seek to assert themselves. Hence the duty is incumbent on the architect of giving concrete expression to new ideals.

The most remarkable expression of the new style is manifested in the buildings erected on the grounds where the annual Party Congress takes place in Nuremberg (see Pict. 183). The conception of those buildings is inspired by the gigantic mass demonstrations, without precedent in history, which have constituted an entirely new feature of German national life since the advent of National Socialism to power: demonstrations of which the annual Party Congress in Nuremberg, the First of May Festival of Labour in Berlin, and the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival on the Bückeberg afford the most characteristic examples.

It is interesting to observe the evolution from the scheme originally designed for the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin in connection with the May Day celebrations to the scheme now in course of realisation at Nuremberg. A previously almost unknown architect, Albert Speer, who was entrusted with the planning of the site of these vast demonstrations, assumed a task that can properly be called

unique. The grounds at Nuremberg comprise an area eight kilometres long and the greatest breadth of which measures some four kilometres. The Luitpold Arena, constructed in 1933/4, was completed in 1936 by a new parade ground entirely of stone known as the Zeppelin Meadow, capable of containing 300,000 people. Another enclosure, five times larger than the Zeppelin Meadow and destined for military reviews, is in course of construction. This enclosure can contain 2,000,000 persons. In addition, there is a Congress Hall with accommodation for 60,000 people, which was designed by the late architect Ruff. A colossal stadium will also be built within the grounds.

Apart from the construction of these grounds of well-nigh phantastic dimensions, which are situated outside the city, to the architectural structure of which they are, however, adapted, the preservation and improvement of the general aspect of this venerable German town are the object of Hitler's particular solicitude. The late Prof. Troost, in his transformation of the Königsplatz in Munich, showed how a square, whilst preserving the character of existing buildings, can none the less assume a new aspect which seems to definitely achieve the original architectural idea. (See Pict. 181.) A vast space, uniformly paved with big stone slabs, is harmoniously enclosed by the new *Fuhrer* buildings. The beauty of the square is enhanced by the two Temples of Honour dedicated to the memory of those who have fallen in the cause of National Socialism.

Paul Ludwig Troost, to whom the Germans also owe the designs for the House of German Art (see Pict. 184), was the first architect of the Third Reich. Inspired by Hitler's own ideas, Troost paved the way for a new architectural style. His great creative talents and his devotion to his art will always remain as models for future architects.

Numerous further tasks of city architecture remain to be accomplished. Hitler has appointed Prof. Speer Inspector-General of Buildings and has confided to him the task of the reconstruction of Berlin, which will be carried out conformably with the ideas enunciated by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf*. Great public buildings will here be erected as signs of the times and emblems of national strength. For, according to the National Socialist doctrine, architecture, alike in the boldness of its conceptions and the harmonious perfection of its realisations, incorporates the will of the nation, and it is consequently the duty of the State to further it by every possible means.

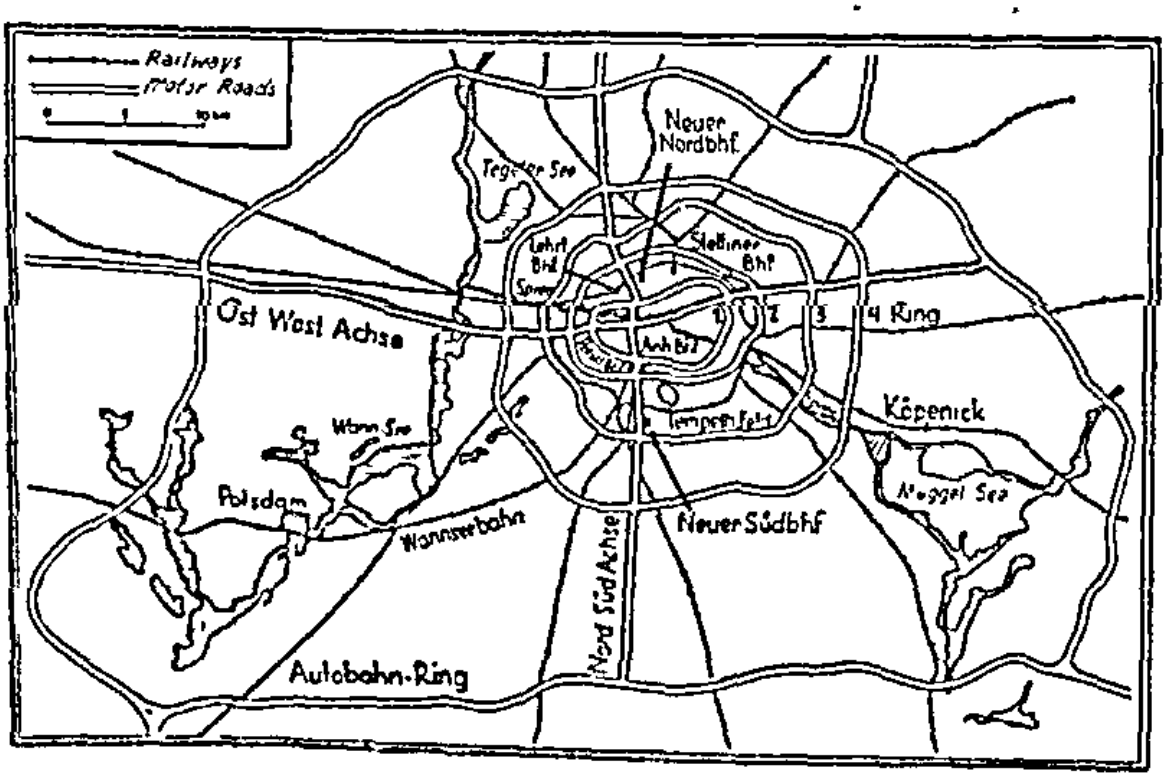
Among the great public buildings already constructed, or which are in course of construction, may be mentioned the Reich Air Ministry, The Reichsbank, and the new Reich Chancellery.

The innumerable visitors who came to Berlin on the occasion of the Olympic Games in 1936 were able to admire the incomparable Reich Sports Grounds which, together with the magnificent buildings constructed on them, were planned by the famous architect Prof. March (see Pict. 182). In the Reich Sports Grounds in Berlin and in the Party Congress Grounds in Nuremberg the intimate relationship between contemporary German and ancient classical art finds its truest and clearest expression.

Entirely new tasks have been initiated by the architectural programme of the German Labour Front. The educational establishments (*Schulungsburgen*) destined for the training of future party leaders represent a new architectural type, just as do the various buildings erected for holding popular festivals. Another type of this new architecture is to be found in the splendid bathing establishments to be built on the island of Rügen for KdF., which will accommodate 20,000 working class holiday-makers (see Pict. 116). A further notable example of the new style is to be seen in the buildings constructed in connection with the Reich motor roads.

One of the most noteworthy creations of German architecture was the "German House" at the Paris World Exhibition in 1937 (see Pict. 185). The somewhat solemn aspect presented by this edifice, the severe harmony of its lines, might perhaps have surprised those who expected a pavilion in an Exhibition to be less classical and more adapted to the purposes of advertisement. But it should be borne in mind that the aim was to show the new spirit inspiring architecture in the Third Reich. The most striking feature was the perfect harmony of architecture and plastic art, a harmony which had rarely been realised to such an extent before. This held good alike for the external aspect of the building, on which the symbol of national sovereignty and the group of sculptured figures were perfectly adapted to the style, and of its interior design, in which space and decoration contributed in equal measure to ensure the organic unity of the whole.

The prospects of German architecture, in which the striving of a healthy young generation towards a new ideal is clearly visible, are very hopeful. In



Future Plan of the Capital

contemporary German architecture there is nothing reminiscent of archaic forms. It all speaks of creation and growth.

The reconstruction of a number of big German cities, particularly the German capital, on lines laid down by the Führer and under the direction of Professor Speer, will furnish new and generous proof, declared Adolf Hitler in his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1938, of the ability of National Socialism to give a lead in art. On the occasion of the ceremony held on January 14, 1938, in connection with the laying of the foundation-stone of the Head Offices of the Foreign Tourist Association in Berlin, the Führer gave the signal for the start of the re-planning of the German capital. He predicted that, with the construction of the North-South axis, Berlin would in future be saved from problems of traffic congestion as it would have, apart from the new ring around the city, two main arterial roads running right through the capital and directly linked up with the network of motorways. He added that the plans were not drawn up to meet conditions obtaining in the year 1940 but to last for centuries to come.

At the same time, big arrangements have been made for the reorganisation of rapid transport facilities both within the capital and throughout the Reich. Order will be brought into a system of transport which came into being in a disorderly fashion. These plans are to be carried out by the *Länder*, the Movement, the Communes and private enterprise as well as by the State, all working under a centralised direction. Berlin, itself, would be enriched by a Palace of Justice and a number of big new administrative offices, quite apart from the realisation of extensive housing projects.

According to an old saying, music is "a rebirth of the soul and a source of perfection". Hence the importance of the Reich Chamber of Music. Music had shared the fate of all other branches of culture in the general decline of Germany after the War, when materialism reigned supreme. The economic distress of professional musicians was, moreover, appalling, and was augmented by their lack of unity and the decay of musical culture in Germany.

An indispensable condition of fruitful activity for the newly founded Chamber of Music was the creation of a corporative organisation of musicians, whether composers or performers. The Chamber was inspired by the two following fundamental principles:—

1. Increase of the average production of the German musical profession by suitable encouragement of individual talent;

2. the necessity of suppressing, as far as possible, unemployment among musicians.

Thousands of so-called "amateurs" were eliminated thanks to rigorous examinations. No profession contained such a number of "botchers" and ne'er-do-wells as the musical one, which had served as refuge for all those who were incapable of any useful work whatever. Hence a "purge" had to be undertaken among composers, performers, musical publishers, and music shops. A higher standard was henceforth required of all those who aspired to join the musical profession. At the same time a strict control of the music labour market was instituted with the double object of procuring work for 24,000 unemployed pro-

fessional musicians and of assuring a respectable minimum wage for upwards of 50,000 other musicians whose monthly earnings amounted to less than 100 marks

The Chamber is not only the corporative organisation of professional musicians, it also takes care of the interests of amateurs and is particularly concerned with the development of the movements for the development of community singing and folk music The Chamber plays a useful part as intermediary between professional artists and the broad masses of the people, notably in the domain of the German *Lied*

The results obtained by the Chamber of Music during the first four years of its existence may be briefly summarized as follows

The number of unemployed musicians was reduced from 24,000 to about 14,000 It must be remembered that many unemployed musicians cannot hope for reemployment as they have been condemned to idleness for eight years and longer

A Provident Fund for composers has been established, thanks to which every composer, regardless of the amount of his subscription, receives the same old age pension

The extension, in the case of deceased composers, of the period of copyright from 30 to 50 years after the composer's death has had the result of ensuring for his heirs a profit from the sale or performance of his works for a further 20 years

A large number of so called "cultural orchestras" have been created, which devote their efforts exclusively to the cultivation of really good music About 100 of these "cultural orchestras" are to day maintained thanks to subventions of the Reich, the Provinces, and the municipalities 1,200 towns have appointed "municipal musical counsellors" whose duty it is to develop musical life among the community in cooperation alike with official and private organisations Special attention is paid to affording young artists the possibility of appearing in public

Simultaneously with the suppression of private employment agencies, a central employment agency was founded with 13 branch offices in the Reich Up till the end of 1936 this agency had procured work for some 3 000 bands whose total earnings amounted to 4,535 000 marks Under his engagement contract each musician was guaranteed one free day weekly Monthly salaries were substituted for daily wages, and monthly notice was substituted for the previous practice of daily notice

A considerable sum is spent by the Chamber on scholarships for young talented persons to help them to purchase the necessary instruments and to continue their studies, and also, in certain cases, to enable the publication of valuable musical works which otherwise, for lack of the necessary funds, might never see the light of day The legal consulting department of the Chamber has in the past 18 months given advice in 43,000 cases and instituted legal proceedings in about 3 000 others, thereby obtaining a sum of 1,800,000 marks for its members

A number of musical educational establishments have been created, among them the first military music school in Bückeburg The three societies for the utilization of musical performance rights were merged in the "State approved society for the utilisation of musical copyright" (Stagma) By its activity the Stagma was able to increase the number of current yearly agreements with concert agencies from 30,000 to 80 000, representing a value of 2 800,000 and 4,975,000 marks respectively At the same time the total income from broadcasting, films, and concerts increased from 5,700,000 to 9,700,000 marks

Community singing and folk songs were encouraged by various public performances, the most notable of which was the performance of Georg Friedrich Handel's oratorio *Heracles* at the Dietrich Eckart Open Air Theatre on the Reich Sports Grounds in Berlin This was the most remarkable artistic event at the XIth Olympiad The magnificent performances of soloists, choirs, and orchestra, as well as the wonderful *mise en scene* and the admirable *regie*, aroused the wholehearted admiration of the audience (See Pict 190)

The Reich Chamber of Literature comprises all persons concerned in the production and sale of non periodical publications, i e authors, publishers, booksellers, proprietors of circulating libraries, etc All such persons are obliged to belong to the Chamber

The following tasks are assigned to the Chamber —

1 ridding German libraries of objectionable and undesirable publications,

2 ridding the literary profession in Germany of Jewish influence and bringing the profession as such into line with the cultural policy of National Socialism,

3 encouraging deserving publications and facilitating the penetration of good literature into the masses of the population

The police in Germany are authorised to prohibit the circulation of books, but only after having obtained the considered opinion of the Chamber of Literature The books, the prohibition of which is chiefly aimed at, are those which come under the headings "trash" and "filth" In former times this censorship was conceived as destined for the sole protection of youth, grown up people, according to this view, had the right to read whatever they liked From the National Socialist point of view, on the contrary, the entire nation is entitled to be protected against publications of an obscene or otherwise objectionable nature Severe repressive measures are alone capable of preventing such stuff from falling into the hands of children or adolescents The Chamber of Literature, as a corporative organisation, is moreover more qualified to act as censor than the police

The Chamber keeps two lists of "pernicious" publications The first comprises those, the propagation of which is considered undesirable under all circumstances The second comprises those books, the circulation of which is not prohibited *per se*, but which may not be exhibited and may not be sold to young persons under eighteen years of age

This, however, is not sufficient What is necessary is to prevent such "pernicious" writings being printed at all Since no such thing as a "preliminary" censorship exists in Germany, the Chamber of Literature has created an "Advisory Committee for Popular Literature", the services of which are at the disposal of every publisher, and whose mission it is to advise publishers in the selection and utilisation of MSS submitted to them

Certain well defined principles govern the selection of booksellers (who, together with their own employees, with publishers and the employees of publishers, and the proprietors of circulating libraries, are organised in the Union of German Booksellers) Especial importance is attached by the Chamber to the training of prospective young booksellers All apprentices, at the termination of their apprenticeship, must pass an examination Everyone of them is also obliged to go through a four weeks' course of training in a professional school at Leipzig Uniform rules have likewise been drawn up for circulating libraries, and a minimum tariff for lending books has been established with the result that it has become possible to place more expensive works at the disposal of those libraries

It is the duty of the Chamber to regulate the relations between the various professional groups adhering to it Special attention has been paid in this respect to the relations between author and publisher, and a so called "normal contract" between the two has been drawn up with the twofold object of preventing a publisher from taking advantage of an author's business acumen, and of safeguarding the economic interests of the publisher

Authors, all of whom are compulsorily organised in the Reich Union of German Authors, are assured of assistance by the Chamber of Literature in case of need Two institutions—the Schiller Foundation in Weimar and the Literary Fund in Berlin—fulfil this aim The Palm Foundation in Berlin fulfils a similar aim in respect of booksellers A scheme of old age pensions for authors and publishers is being prepared, and various prizes for poets have been founded

The annual "German Book Week" has greatly contributed to the circulation of good literature as well as to the success of the booksellers' advertising propaganda Compared with 1933, the sale of German books had increased by 32% in 1936

From the National Socialist point of view the Press is a means—and a powerful means— of exerting a spiritual influence on the nation, hence it is an educational instrument like the school, broadcasting, the theatre, or the film It is consequently in the fullest sense of the term an institution for the safeguarding and furtherance of the public welfare It was therefore not surprising that new enactments for the regulation of the status of the Press should have very soon followed the advent of the National Socialist Party to power Emergency decrees of February 4 and February 28, 1933, concerning the protection of nation and State, and which gave extensive powers to the police, were only transitory measures Later on the Reich Press Chamber was created and on October 4, 1933, the law defining the rights and duties of journalists was enacted

The Reich Press Chamber comprises all persons who contribute to the production, sale, and distribution of daily newspapers or other periodical publications. It therefore embraces all professional groups, such as those of editors, publishers, newsagents, etc. The Reich Press Association, with about 13,000 members, is the professional organisation of German journalists.

The definition of the exact position of the "journalist" was essentially modified by the new law. Under the terms of the latter a journalist is a person who professionally participates, whether as editor or sub-editor, in compiling the news part of newspapers or political periodicals. Since the Third Reich considers the Press to be an especially important instrument of political education, the profession of journalist entails the discharge of public duties. Consequently a newspaper—apart from its advertisements—must not be regarded as a purely financial undertaking, but as a means to political education.

The enrolment in the list of professional journalists is rendered dependent on the fulfilment of a number of conditions. The person enrolled must be at least 21 years of age, a German citizen, of Aryan descent, in full possession of rights of citizenship. He can only marry a German or other Aryan and must possess the necessary professional education.

The professional duties of the journalist are regulated by the new law in an entirely different manner than heretofore. In former times the legal duties of a journalist were of a negative nature—i.e. he was merely under the obligation of not contravening the law; to-day, on the contrary, the positive duty is incumbent on him of telling what he knows to be the truth and of judging events in a conscientious and equitable manner. The obligation of being truthful implies the corresponding right of the journalist to uphold his convictions independently of all outside influences. He is obliged to eliminate from his newspaper everything calculated to confound works of public usefulness with egotistical interests in such a way as to mislead public opinion; everything susceptible of adversely affecting the interests of the Reich at home or abroad, of weakening the national will of the German people or the national defence; everything likely to damage German culture and the German economy, or to hurt the religious convictions of others. He must likewise scrupulously avoid publishing anything contrary to the honour and dignity of a German citizen, or any slanderous attacks, or in general anything incompatible with the unwritten laws of decency.

Under the new German law responsibility for offences against the above mentioned principles rests with the really guilty person and must not be ascribed to some "man of straw" who signs as "responsible editor". The system of "responsible editors" which led to so many abuses has been abolished. To-day the individual author is held responsible for his articles, the individual editor for the acceptance of articles that appear in his paper.

The moral and intellectual independence of the journalist with regard to the owner of the paper, on whom the former is economically dependent, is assured by a number of measures which define their mutual rights. The owner is entitled to draw up, in agreement with the editorial staff, rules concerning the policy to be pursued by the paper, but these rules must be of a general nature. The

owner not only has no right to intervene in matters of detail, but any attempt on his part to do so renders him liable to penalties. Compulsion in Press matters is punishable at law, as is also bribery, whether active or passive.

In respect of disciplinary control, journalists occupy an exceptional position. In cases of breaches of professional discipline they are amenable to their own special jurisdiction, represented in the first instance by Press District Courts, and in the second instance by the Press Tribunal in Berlin.

Such are the main principles at the basis of the Press legislation in the Third Reich, which are inspired by a desire to transform the Press into an efficient instrument for the carrying out of public duties. Similar legislation in Fascist Italy served as model—especially that part rendering it obligatory for every Italian journalist to be inscribed on the professional register, hence to be subjected to corporative supervision, failing which he cannot exercise his profession. But German legislation has taken into account the many differences between conditions in Italy and Germany, notably as regards the Press of the two countries. It has had regard for the variety of regional, economic, religious, and intellectual life in Germany.

The newspaper publishing business has been regulated by a number of decrees, the most important of which is the decree that aims at removing the publisher from the purely commercial sphere and imposing on him duties and responsibilities similar to those imposed on journalists. (It should be noted that as regards newspapers the terms "publisher" and "owner" are practically synonymous in Germany.) It was thus clearly emphasised that in the new Germany a newspaper is not to be regarded as a mere commercial venture, but on the contrary as an instrument for the promotion of culture; and that the Press has consequently to fulfil a cultural and political task of the highest importance. The prohibition of the foundation of new journals cleared the way for the creation of healthier economic conditions. Corporations, companies formed for industrial or trading purposes, cooperative societies, trusts and foundations of all kinds, associations (whether of a professional or religious nature) may no longer own or publish newspapers. The object of this provision was to abolish anonymity in newspaper proprietorship. The concentration of a number of newspapers in the hands of a syndicate is likewise forbidden. The owners and publishers of organs destined exclusively for a specific category of readers, i.e. belonging to a certain profession or religious body, etc., are excluded from the Reich Press Chamber. Another decree confers on the President of the Chamber the right to suppress newspapers in towns where their number is excessive, in order to reduce unnecessary competition and thus to improve the economic conditions of each paper. The application of this decree has already led to the disappearance of a large number of unremunerative undertakings. A further decree excludes from the Chamber the publishers of scandal-mongering papers.

Thus the rights conceded to the Reich Press Chamber are considerably more extensive than those possessed by the other Cultural Chambers in the Third Reich. But those rights are completely in harmony with the conception of an authoritarian State. It has always been so since the days of Napoleon, and it will always be so in the future.

Salesmanship Council of the German Economy

The National Socialist revolution also inaugurated a new era in the highly important domains of salesmanship and advertising. A reform in these domains was all the more necessary in view of the large sums—at least one milliard marks annually—invested in advertising, without which no industrial or commercial development is conceivable. For this reason, as well as on ethical and aesthetic grounds, the German Government decreed on September 12, 1933, the creation of the Salesmanship Council of the German Economy. The aim of the new law was the suppression, in the interest of the "protection of honourable advertisers", of various abuses which had crept into the advertising world under the former régime. Among those abuses, the following may be cited as typical examples: the disfigurement of the countryside by hideous posters, the issue of fraudulent statements by newspapers concerning their circulation, the disparagement of competitors, unfair business methods consisting of misleading statements. The variety of advertising tricks was not less great than the variety of advertisements.

The Salesmanship Council of the German Economy has put an end to this eminently unsatisfactory state of things by drawing up uniform rules for the whole domain of economic advertising. These rules are based on the principle of good faith in business life, and it is on this basis that the whole supervisory activity of the Salesmanship Council is exercised.

It would be wrong to attribute to the Council the *rôle* of a policeman or to suppose that its aim is to regulate salesmanship and advertising in a bureaucratic and dictatorial fashion. On the contrary, its object is mainly of an educational nature, and this explains why the great work of reconstruction initiated by it could be completed within so short a space of time. As the Chairman of the Salesmanship Council, Dr. Ernst Reichard, wrote in his foreword to the third annual report of the Council in January, 1937: "the era of great transformations in the sphere of economic advertising may be considered as closed. The necessary reforms have now been carried out. Henceforth the main thing is to supervise the application of the new measures and to take precautions lest similar abuses, which the new law is destined to prevent, should occur in the future."

The regulations drawn up by the Council are very extensive in their application. They apply to advertising agents and their methods of acquiring advertisements, to the organisation of fairs and exhibitions, to posters, to the advertisement of medicaments and similar articles, etc.

In addition to the general organisation of salesmanship and advertising, the Council is concerned with its encouragement; indeed, the Council itself carries on an active economic propaganda—frequently in the shape of communal propaganda—both at home and abroad. The propaganda carried on by the Council can, however, evidently only be of a supplementary nature since it is, of course, not destined to compete with the independent propaganda of individual business undertakings.

The Council is placed under the control of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, a control which is exercised in collaboration with the other Ministries responsible

for the direction of the economic policy of the Reich. The Council consists of a Chairman, managers, a board of directors, and the members of the various technical committees. These committees comprise persons who are specialised in all branches of German economy, and whose duty it is to advise the Chairman, so that the latter's decisions shall not present a bureaucratic aspect, but shall, on the contrary, be taken conformably with experience.

The necessity of a regulation of salesmanship and advertising has also been recognised in other countries. This is certainly due in part to the indefatigable work of Herr Ernst Reichard, who has been a pioneer of national cooperation in this domain. At the invitation of a number of leading associations Herr Reichard has already delivered lectures on the subject in the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary with the object of attracting attention to the importance of an international understanding regarding the questions of salesmanship and advertising. Herr Reichard had the satisfaction of seeing his work crowned with success by a resolution adopted at the Congress of International Chambers of Commerce in Berlin on July 2, 1937. This resolution demanded the creation of an International Council of Economic Propaganda, the task would be to assure the safeguarding of honourable methods of salesmanship and advertising in all countries in the interest of the restoration of sound economic relations.